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THE

MONUMENTS OF EGYPT;

OR,

EGYPT A WITNESS FOR THE BIBLE.

BY

FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D. D., LL. D.

With Illustrations.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

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RIGHT REV. BISHOP BROWNELL,

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THIS BOOK

Is Respectfully Inscribed,

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THE UNWAVERING FRIENDSHIP

OF MANY YEARS.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The kind reception given to this work having created a demand for a second edition, the compiler has endeavored to add to the interest of the book by the insertion of a new chapter descriptive of localities on the Nile, derived from the latest and most authentic sources.

To make room for the insertion of this new matter, the journal appended to the former edition has, in this, been omitted.

New-York, March 1, 1850.

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EGYPT AND ITS MONUMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

The compiler of the following pages was prompted to the work partly by his own reflections, and partly by the request of a friend, who thought that such a labor might be useful to the cause of truth. It is not a scientific work, nor was it penned for the learned. They probably will have already acquired, in their studies, all the information they can gather from its pages.

On such a subject as this book presents, to have attempted originality, would unavoidably have been to commit error; for its simple object was to collect into a plain and comprehensible compend, the results of the research of many different inquirers in the field of Egyptian archæology. The writer, therefore, begs leave distinctly to disavow all claim to the merits of *authorship*. He aspires here to no more than the humble office of a *compiler*. He will be abundantly satisfied, if he shall be found to have so used the materials, furnished by others more learned than himself, as to have made an intelligible, true, and readable book.

He would not be guilty of the injustice of robbing those to whose labors he has been so largely indebted. He has

used them without hesitation or reserve, wherever they could, in his view, advance the cause of truth; because, first, he believed of many of them that, as lovers of truth, they would not withhold such use; and next, because he meant distinctly to declare to the world, as he has done, that he claims to be no more than a compiler. He has often referred in the following pages to the writer from whom he obtained information, and has quoted his words; but as in some instances this is not done, he begs leave to make a general acknowledgment, and enumerate the principal authors to whom he is indebted. These are Champollion le Jeune, Champollion Figeac, Rosellini, Young, Spineto, Lepsius, Wilkinson, Birch, Osborn, Bunsen, Kitto, Hengstenberg, and the "Description" of the French savans.

Had there been *precisely* such a work as is here attempted, accessible to English readers, the writer would, with becoming modesty, have withheld his efforts. The only one of a similar kind, is the truly learned work of Hengstenberg, "Egypt and the Books of Moses;" very well translated into English from the German, in 1843, by Mr. Robbins, then of the Andover Seminary, and published in the same year. But this work, valuable as it confessedly is, (and none has been more useful to the compiler,) is almost too learned for general readers: its arrangement also seemed susceptible of improvement; but above all, there was additional testimony resting in the writings of others, which it was desirable to incorporate with the valuable contributions of Hengstenberg. Hence the present attempt.

It had been easy to make the work more full. Many more illustrations and confirmations might have been produced, and a chapter might have been written on the fulfil-

ment of prophecies concerning Egypt: but to have done this, would have been, in some measure to defeat the object of the work, which was, to select the plainest and most intelligible proofs, and to present them with reasonable brevity; in the hope that without wearisomeness they might engage the attention of the general reader, who could not be expected to find much interest in evidence that could be made plain by learned discussion only.

To Mr. Gliddon undeniably belongs the merit of having first awakened general attention in the United States, to the very interesting subject of Egyptian antiquities. It is to be hoped that his labors in this cause will attract the attention and invite the research of such of our young countrymen as may have the means and opportunity of travel, and that our own country may thus be enabled to yield her contribution to the general stock of Egyptian archæology.

New-York, September, 1849.

EGYPT

AND ITS MONUMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Interest excited by Egypt.—Object of the present work.—Art of writing very ancient in Egypt.—Egyptian author Manetho.—Greek writers, Herodotus, Diodorus.—Work of Horapollo.—Modern efforts at deciphering the hieroglyphics.—Father Kircher.—Zoega.—Warburton's hint.—Quatremère's discovery.—Work of the French savans.—Discovery of the Rosetta stone.

"EGYPT.—This country offers subjects of conversation and meditation which no traveller can entirely neglect, whoever he may be, if he have eyes to see, a memory to remember, and a sprinkling of imagination wherewith to dream. Who can be indifferent to the tableau of unaccountable Nature on the banks of the Nile: at the spectacle of this river-land, that no other land resembles? Who will not be moved in the presence of this people, which of old accomplished such mighty deeds, and now are reduced to misery so extreme? Who can visit Alexandria, Cairo, the Pyramids, Heliopolis, Thebes, without being moved by reminiscences,

the most imposing and the most diverse? The Bible, Homer, Philosophy, the Sciences, Greece, Rome, Christianity, the Monks, Islamism, the Crusades, the French Revolution: almost every thing great in this world's history seems to converge into the pathway of him who traverses this memorable country! Abraham, Sesostris, Moses, Helen, Agesilaus, Alexander, Pompey, Cæsar, Cleopatra, Aristarchus, Plotinus, Pacomus, Origen, Athanasius, Saladin, St. Louis, Napoleon! what names! what contrasts! * * * * * * A country made to occupy eternally the world, Egypt appears at the very origin of the traditions of Judea and of Greece. Moses issues from her; Plato, Pythagoras, Lycurgus, Solon, Herodotus, Strabo and Tacitus enter into her bosom to be initiated in her sciences, religion and laws."

Thus breaks forth the enthusiasm of an eloquent French writer, as he kindles in the contemplation of a favorite theme. Without participating in the excitement of his feelings, it must still be confessed, that there is an absorbing interest in the land which he thus glowingly depicts. The attention that it has excited within the last half century has developed so much, which neither the Christian nor the scholar is willing to neglect; that patient labor still employs itself in research, undeterred by unusual difficulties, and undisgusted by the exaggerations of the too credulous archæologist. Persevering industry will overcome the one, and a sound judgment affords a corrective to the other. Nor must it be supposed that the exaggeration is all on one side. If there be those who have prematurely sounded the note of triumph in their supposed discovery of monumental testimony that disproves the truth of the sacred records; it must not be forgotten, that, on the other hand, there are some who have found, as they imagine,

in certain particulars, evidence for the Bible, of the conclusiveness of which, even the sober-minded Christian will entertain a doubt. He who is best acquainted with the present state of Egyptian discoveries, cannot but feel, that our knowledge is yet much too imperfect on some points, to justify over-confident assertion or critical dogmatism. From the tomb of past ages, much that is very valuable has undoubtedly been disinterred: that much yet remains to be unburied, is proved by the constant accumulation of facts, daily added to our already existing knowledge of Egyptian antiquities. It is, perhaps, not saying too much to assert, that, with our present materials, any attempt at generalization on *all* the points brought to our notice by a study of Egyptian archæology, is premature, and as to some points, must terminate in erroneous conclusions.

The object of the present volume, therefore, is neither to afford a connected history of Egypt, nor to furnish the reader with a satisfactory explanation of every inscription or representation on the walls of its venerable ruins. Its less ambitious, and it is hoped not less useful aim, is to bring forward, in an intelligible form, certain *facts* that appear to be well attested, and thus to afford to the reader the means of judging for himself how far they furnish illustration of, or give direct confirmation to, the truth of events recorded in the Scriptures.

A necessary preliminary to the performance of this undertaking, is a recital of the sources of information we possess in matters relating to Egypt; and particularly an account of the discoveries made in hieroglyphical interpretation within the last half century. With that, therefore, we commence.

Of the very great antiquity of writing among the Egyptians, and of their consequent early possession of books, little doubt seems now to be entertained among the learned. The

inkstand and the stylus are found on monuments which carry us back to a period anterior, as is supposed, to the time of which we have any recorded history. But on this subject we are not left to a mere inference from monumental remains. The earliest writings of the Egyptians, are believed to have been contained in their sacred books. For our knowledge of these writings we are indebted chiefly, and indeed almost entirely, to Clemens of Alexandria. He is entitled to belief, as having been a resident in Egypt, if not a native, eminently learned, and of unimpeachable Christian character. His life terminated between the years of our Lord 200 and 220; and he states that in his time the Egyptians had forty-two sacred books. These books were divided into several classes; one, for instance, was on medicine; another on astronomy; a third was on the hieroglyphical art, and consequently taught the rudiments of Egyptian writing; a fourth class was devoted to religious worship, while another comprised the sacerdotal books, and bore the general name of Hieratic writings. These last, as Clement states, treated of "the Laws, the Deities, and the entire education of the Priests."

The only portion of these writings of which the moderns are as yet possessed, is in what Champollion called the "Ritual," and Lepsius named "The Book of the Dead." It was originally found in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, in the form of a hieroglyphical papyrus. Its pictorial ornaments showed that it treated of ceremonies in honor of the dead, and the transmigration of souls. Afterward, Champollion found a much more perfect copy in the museum of Turin: this has been published by Lepsius, with the remark that "this book furnishes the only example of a great Egyptian literary work, transmitted from the old Pharaonic times." It possesses one

peculiarity that is significant of its great antiquity; it is written in the pure monumental hieroglyphic character, while in all the other extant remains of Egyptian literature, the hieratic character is employed. This difference is important in other aspects, to which we advert not here, as the object now is simply to illustrate the fact of the great antiquity of the art of writing in Egypt.

The next question that naturally arises, is an inquiry whether any, and if any, what historical works have come down to our day from Egyptian authors? The answer to this must be, that although we have some fragments, of which to speak presently, yet that nothing deserving the name of an authentic and continuous *history* concerning ancient Egypt, has yet been found in her monuments or elsewhere; while of some portions of that history, the only records worthy of confidence, are contained in the Bible. For the preservation of these, the pride of a tyrannical Pharaoh little dreamed that it would be indebted to the oppressed victims of its persecution. The proud triumphs of Egyptian kings are lost in the past, or but indistinctly read in a mysterious language on the decaying walls of temples, tombs, and palaces; while the heartless cruelties that preceded the exode of a race, outcasts in Egypt and trampled in the dust, are chronicled by the providence of God, for all time, on imperishable pages:

"The evil that men do lives after them."

Egypt has no certain history of her ancient greatness. That her "sacred books did not contain any history of the Egyptian nation," says the Chevalier Bunsen, "is no less certain than that the Old Testament does contain that of the Jews. The

idea of a people did not exist—still less that of a people of God, the Creator of the heavens and the earth. History was born in that night, when Moses, with the law of God, moral and spiritual, in his heart, led the people of Israel out of Egypt."

It has already been intimated that fragments of Egyptian writers have come down to our days. Of these, the only one worthy of note is *Manetho*. He lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about 180 B. C. His work, originally in three volumes or books, was written, it is said, at the command of Ptolemy, and is now lost. All that we have of it is to be found in quotations from it, in the writings of Josephus, Eusebius, and Syncellus. The last of these quotes from two abbreviators of Manetho, one of whom was Eratosthenes; the work of the other is called "The Old Chronicle."

Manetho (as Plutarch informs us) was a priest of Sebennytus; hence he is sometimes called the Sebennyte. He wrote in the Greek language, but professed to draw his materials from Egyptian sources. Manetho's history, like that of many other ancient nations, refers the origin of his people to gods and demigods, who reigned for hundreds of thousands of years. The first of these was the Sun or Phra, whence came the name Pharaoh, as a generic term applied to all the Egyptian monarchs. He then commences with the reign of men, and extends his list of sovereigns over an incredibly long period, if time were computed then as it is now. But it is no part of the purpose of the present work to enter into the much disputed question of Egyptian chronology. The general reader will find in it little to interest him, and we are not presumptuous enough to suppose that our pages will furnish any attraction to the historical antiquarian. Beside, without

meaning to undervalue chronology, as a very important feature in the study of history, we may yet be permitted to say in the words of a modern writer on Egypt, that "the disclosures made by inscriptions on public buildings, of kings, wars, and conquests, may, when verified as to age, and placed in their probable order by the aid of learning and criticism, reveal more as to the dynasties and individual sovereigns; but on such information, even when free from doubt and most accurate, little real value can be set; while the Bible supplies, either by express statement or obvious implication, *facts and principles* which constitute *genuine history*, and go far to give the past all the value which it can possess for the men of these times."

It is proper to add that, while, among the learned generally, there seems to be no doubt that Manetho had a real existence, and wrote what has been preserved in quotations from his works; yet there have not been wanting some who deem the writings under his name to be entirely fabulous. The learned Hengstenberg is of this class. In his work, entitled "Egypt and the Books of Moses," he devotes an entire article in his appendix to this subject; and, with great ingenuity, throws more than the shadow of a suspicion on the authenticity and credibility of the supposed Egyptian historian. He considers the work to be spurious, and of later times than the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. In this conclusion we are not prepared entirely to acquiesce, though it is possible that an exaggerated importance may have been given by some, to the writings under the name of Manetho. They derive, however, so much confirmation from the discovery of what is known as the "tablet of Abydus," that their entire rejection as authority seems scarcely consistent with sound criticism.

The tablet of Abydus, which is now in the British Museum, is delineated on the opposite page. It is a series of royal rings inclosing the inaugural titles of the names of many of the ancient kings of Egypt, in the order of their succession. It was engraved on the wall of one of the vestibules of a temple, which has been excavated in the mountain to the north of the city of Abydus. It is not, however, to be concealed, that, while in some instances it confirms Manetho's lists, in others, it is directly at variance with them.

Another source of information concerning Egypt is in the writings of Herodotus. This oldest of the Greek historians was born about 484 B. C., and having from political causes become an exile from his native city, he travelled through Greece, Egypt, Asia, Scythia, Thrace, and Macedonia. His work is divided into nine books, which he named after the nine muses. The second of these, Euterpe, is devoted to Egypt, and contains an account not merely of what he saw, but also of such explanations as he received from the Egyptian priests, together with observations on the manners and customs of the country, and a long dissertation on the succession of its kings. He does not pretend, in this latter subject, to observe strict chronological order; and his work is chiefly valuable when brought into juxtaposition with other authorities that can be relied on.

Diodorus Siculus is another writer, of less value, however, than Herodotus. He professes to treat of the affairs of Egypt. He visited the country about 58 B. C., though his work was written at a later period. He brought to his task (says Bunsen) "a mere acquaintance with books, without either sound judgment, critical spirit, or comprehensive views. He was more successful consequently in complicating and mysti-

TABLET OF ABYDUS.

fying, than in sifting and illustrating the traditions with which he had to deal." This, however, will probably be deemed by some, and those not altogether unlearned, a harsher judgment than Diodorus deserves. There is a school of "Egyptologists," as they somewhat affectedly style themselves, with whom it is fashionable to depreciate Diodorus; though some among them can and do quote and rely on him when his testimony confirms their views. That Diodorus often betrays a want of sound judgment, and writes silly things, may be true; so do Herodotus and others, at times; but Diodorus often relates *facts*, the truth of which is established by other testimony as well as his. The Christian student of Egyptian antiquities, however, is at no loss to find a cause for the studied depreciation of Diodorus. To these might be added other authorities of minor importance; while of *all* it may be said that they shed little, if any, light upon the system of hieroglyphic writing, and certainly none upon its proper interpretation.

It was believed, long ago, that the singular devices and inscriptions to be found on the temples and tombs of Egypt, were historical documents; and that, if correctly interpreted, they would probably furnish a more correct account of the early condition of this ancient and long-civilized nation, than could be derived from any other source. Many obelisks and other works of art may still be seen at Rome, which had been carried thither from Egypt by the emperors: these are covered with hieroglyphics, the meaning of which had provoked the curiosity, and stimulated the study, of men of letters, almost from the period of the revival of learning in Europe, in the fifteenth century. The classic authors of Greece and Rome, however, who had written on the hieroglyphics, without understanding

them, had created the impression that their correct interpretation had been so studiously concealed by the priests, and was, withal, so imperfectly understood even by them, that it had been irrecoverably lost before the days of the latter emperors. Notwithstanding this discouraging view, however, some among the moderns ventured to hope that persevering industry, added to critical skill, might solve the mystery, and read this strange "handwriting on the wall." There was known to be in existence a work, purporting to have been written by Horapollo, and professing to give a meaning to some, at least, of the sculptured figures common in Egypt.

Horapollo was an Egyptian scribe; but he did not live until the beginning of the fifth century of our era; and consequently all that he could do was to gather the traditionary and fast fading interpretation of such symbols as were then understood by his countrymen. But even the original of his work, imperfect as it must necessarily have been, was lost; and all that remains of it is a Greek translation made by Philip, who is supposed to have lived a century or two later than Horapollo, and at a time when every vestige of *certain* knowledge, in the work of interpretation, must have been lost. Philip undoubtedly introduced new matter of his own invention, but with all its imperfections, the book was not without value in the earlier modern efforts at interpretation; and is at least curious, as being "the only ancient volume entirely devoted to the task of unravelling the mystery in which Egyptian learning has been involved; and as one, which, in many instances, unquestionably contains the correct interpretation."* One of the earliest of the moderns, in the field as an interpreter, was the learned

* A very beautiful edition of Horapollo, accompanied with an English translation, was published a few years since by Mr. Cory, of Pembroke College, Cam-

Jesuit, Father Kircher. In 1636 he published six bulky folios, in which he professed to explain and read most of the hieroglyphical inscriptions on the Egyptian monuments then in Europe. His interpretations were all wrapped in an unintelligible mysticism; and at least proved that the imagination of the worthy father was as prolific as his learning was unquestionable. If, however, he failed in interpretation, his labors were not useless. Osborn remarks that "Kircher eminently assisted the researches that ultimately proved successful, by bringing together in his book a voluminous collection of passages from the Greek and Latin authors respecting Egypt. And still more, by calling the attention of the learned to the Coptic tongue, in which a vast number of MSS. were collected in the Vatican and other libraries, both public and private, in Italy." Kircher had many able successors, than whom, perhaps, none deserves more honorable mention than the learned Dane, George Zoega. He published in 1797 his work on the origin and use of the obelisks, and very many of his suggestions were undoubtedly of great use to those who came after him. An incidental hint was thrown out, also, by the acute mind of Warburton, which, though viewed by the learned of that day with incredulity, has subsequently been found to point to the truth. In his "Divine Legation" he was led, from an attentive perusal of what had been said by Clement of Alexandria, and Porphyry, to conclude that "hieroglyphics were a real written language, applicable to the purposes of history and common life, as well as those of religion and mythology;" and further, that among the different sorts of hiero-

bridge, to which we are indebted for the facts above stated concerning the author and his work.

glyphics, the Egyptians possessed *those which were used phonetically*, that is, *alphabetically* as letters. Zoega had also conjectured that certain figures of animals, &c., represented *sounds*, and were possibly *letters;* and from the Greek word, *Φωνὴ*, (a voice or articulate sound,) he had applied to them the term phonetic.

It is obvious, as has been remarked by the Marquis Spineto, that to verify this conjecture, three things were indispensable. If these characters were phonetic, the words they expressed could belong to the ancient spoken language of Egypt only; it was therefore indispensable first, to ascertain what was that language, and whether we had any remains of it. Secondly, a considerable number of inscriptions or fac-similes of them was necessary for purposes of comparison. Thirdly, it was indispensable to possess an authentic translation of some one of these ancient Egyptian inscriptions into a language known to modern scholars. Perhaps the difficulty, not to say apprehended impossibility, of finding the happy combination of these three prerequisites, may have led the learned of that day to pay less attention to the conjecture and hint of Zoega and Warburton, than they deserved; and yet it so happened that Providence was gradually bringing together this indispensable combination of circumstances. As to the first, Quatremêre produced his work "*sur la langue et litterature de l'Egypte*," and satisfactorily proved, to the surprise even of scholars, that the Coptic was the language of the old Egyptians. The Copts are, in fact, the only direct descendants in Egypt of the primitive race, and until within about a hundred years they still spoke the Coptic tongue, though imperfectly; but the language has been preserved in writing, and has come down to our day. The alphabet in which it is written is the Greek,

with the addition of seven other characters, taken from what is known as the *enchorial* or *demotic* writing, which will be explained hereafter. As we now have it, it came into use in Egypt with the introduction of Christianity; and is still used in the Coptic Christian liturgies. The means of comparison are not wanting in the study of the language, for to this day, the Christians have their liturgy, the pentateuch, and nearly the whole of the Scriptures in the Coptic, accompanied with Greek and Arabic translations. The first desideratum was thus brought within reach. As to the second, the memorable expedition of Napoleon to Egypt furnished that. He was accompanied by the ablest savans of France, and the "*Description de l'Egypte*," which the French government published on their return, placed before Europe such a collection as it had never before seen of fac-similes of inscriptions. In some cases the hieroglyphics were not scrupulously exact copies; but still, a vast amount of valuable material was furnished to the patient decipherer. Egypt was now opened, however, and the various museums of Europe began to be enriched with spoils from the banks of the Nile. There soon ceased to be a want of inscriptions to examine. But the third great element of research, which, in fact, could alone give the stamp of *certainty* to any supposed discovery in interpretation, must also appear. An authentic translation of some ancient Egyptian inscription into a language known to modern scholars, was indispensable. Nothing else was wanting for successful archæological research; and as if to supply the want, the Rosetta stone providentially came forth from its grave to furnish what was needed. The consequences resulting from this important discovery, afford one of the most interesting developments of the progress of the human mind in its patient and laborious search for truth, in

the midst of uncommon difficulties. As a remarkable phenomenon in intellectual history, and an application of ingenuity in overcoming obstacles, it deserves to be studied as a curious chapter in psychology, and we therefore invite attention to it.

CHAPTER II.

Rosetta Stone.—Specimens of the inscriptions.—Dr. Young's discoveries.—De Sacy.—Akerblad.—Champollion le Jeune.—Discovery of homophones.—Sir Gardner Wilkinson's tribute to Champollion.—Exposure of the ignorance of the French savans, by Champollion.

It was in August, 1799, that Bouchard, a French officer of Artillery, in digging at Rosetta for the foundations of a redoubt, found a large stone of black syenite basalt, marked with various characters. Upon closer inspection, it was seen that the stone bore three inscriptions: the upper one was in hieroglyphics, the lowest in *Greek* letters, while that between was in a different character, which it was subsequently found, on reading the Greek text, was therein called *enchorial* or popular. The stone finally found its way to the British Museum, where it now is. Owing to the fracture of the stone, no one of the inscriptions was entire, but still, much the larger part of each was remaining. On its arrival in Europe, its importance as a probable key to interpretation, was at once seen; and the Antiquarian Society caused the inscriptions to be engraved, and generally circulated among the European literati. The French general, Duqua, had also caused a cast of two impressions of the stone to be made at Cairo, and had taken them to Paris. And here one cannot but be struck by the reflection with which Bunsen accompanies his state-

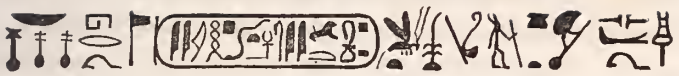
ment of the discovery of this interesting memorial. "This seemingly insignificant stone," says he, "shares with the great and splendid work, 'La Description de l'Egypte,' the honor of being the only result of vital importance to universal history, accruing from a vast expedition, a brilliant conquest, and a bloody combat for the possession of Egypt. That grand conception, the early forecast of a young hero—the colonization of Egypt by Europeans, which Liebnitz had proposed to Louis XIV., and Bossuet, as a passage in his universal history proves, urgently recommended—had wholly failed, and seemed destined to disappear from the page of history, like a stroke upon the waters, without leaving a trace behind it. After a bloody and fruitlessly protracted struggle, upon which millions of treasure and unnumbered hecatombs of human life were sacrificed, the cradle of civilization, the land of monuments, was again unconditionally surrendered to the dominion of barbarians. * * * * * Under these circumstances, we may consider that splendid work on Egypt as a sort of sin-offering for all the blood which has been so vainly shed on her soil."

European scholars, having obtained copies of the inscriptions, directed their attention, as was natural, first to the Greek, which was found, upon translation, to contain a record, or recognition of the highest honors of the Pharaohs in the person of Ptolemy Epiphanes, by the Egyptian priesthood, assembled at Memphis. Its concluding sentence was as follows—"that it may be known that the Egyptians elevate and honor the God Epiphanes Eucharistes in a lawful manner, and that this decree should be engraved on a tablet of hard stone in hieroglyphical, [*sacred characters,*] enchorial, [*common writing of the country,*] and Greek characters, and

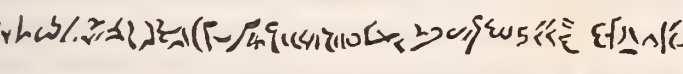
should be set up in each of the first, second, and third-rate temples at the statue of the ever living king." The period of time of which the stone records events, is about 196 B. C., and the inscriptions on it furnish, probably, the most extended and important document of the Græco-Egyptian period.* The general impression of the learned is, that the Greek was the original document, and the hieroglyphics and enchorial writing are translations from it. Porson in England, and Heyne in Germany, together with members of the Institute in France, were not long in establishing the proper reading of the Greek text to the satisfaction of scholars; though a *full* philological analysis of all the inscriptions, in the opinion of Birch and other good Egyptian antiquarians, is yet a desideratum. It is obvious however, from what has been stated, that the discovery of this stone advanced the facilities and means of research far beyond any and all the advantages previously possessed. And here, that we may make ourselves more intelligible to the general reader, we subjoin a specimen of the three different inscriptions found on the Rosetta stone; not with the view at present of showing the mode of interpretation, but that a clear perception may be had of the nature of those labors of the learned which we are about to detail.

* Some years ago it was suggested by Mr. Sharpe, and afterward by Mr. Gliddon, that other copies of this stone might be found. Lepsius of Berlin has a fragment from Philæ, containing part of this decree.

Hieroglyphics.



Corresponding Enchorial or Demotic.



Corresponding Greek.

ΣΤΗCΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΩΝΟΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΓΑΠΗΜΕΝΟΥ ΥΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΦΘΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥC ΕΥΧΑΡΙCΤΟΥ.

Thus translated literally from the hieroglyphics into English by Bunsen:

To set up the Statue of Ptolemy the King, ever living, eternal, beloved of Phtha, the apparent God, the best Lord.—[*Epiphanes Eucharistes.*]

After the Greek had been translated, attention was directed to the two Egyptian texts. De Sacy and Akerblad employed themselves on the enchorial or demotic writing; under the erroneous impression, probably, that as it was the best preserved of all the inscriptions, and was moreover the common writing, it would prove the easiest to decipher; while Dr. Young and Champollion may be deemed the first adventurers into the field of hieroglyphical interpretation, though they were not unmindful of the enchorial also. Several incorrect opinions have been enumerated by Bunsen, as retarding the progress of the first attempts. In the first place, it was assumed that the hieroglyphic character was purely symbolic. Zoega had

repudiated such an opinion some time before; but his now verified conjectures seem, at that time, not to have been known by some, and where known, to have been disregarded. Another assumption was, that the enchorial text was purely alphabetical. Hence resulted a third error, viz., that the language in both inscriptions was the same; but that they were written merely in two different ways. It was De Sacy who was the first successful decipherer. He resorted to the plan usually pursued in interpreting any secret writing. The first object in such a work is to ascertain by close examination the number of different signs or characters; next to distinguish the groups or combinations that occur most frequently; and lastly, according to the supposed or ascertained sense of the general purport of the writing, to explain the characters by the words of the language they are supposed to embody. Here, the purport was fully known from the Greek inscription; and it was the natural presumption, in the absence of all proof, that the Coptic was the language embodied in these characters. Quatremêre had, however, satisfactorily shown that it was in substance the language of ancient Egypt. De Sacy saw that the only sure basis of interpretation was to take the proper names occurring in the Greek, and to ascertain, if possible, their equivalents in the Egyptian text. This he did; and in 1802 communicated to Chaptal his discovery of the names of *Ptolemy*, *Berenice*, and *Alexander* in the enchorial writing. Akerblad went further, and in the same year showed, in a letter to De Sacy, that these groups which he had discovered thus expressing proper names, could be decomposed into letters. By means of these groups and thirteen others, he formed an alphabet for nearly all the letters of the enchorial character; but he never suspected, what was

nevertheless true, that beside *letters*, the enchorial used symbolic signs; and beside *symbols*, the hieroglyphic used phonetic signs. These two important facts were the discovery of Dr. Young.

After Akerblad's labors, some time elapsed before any further progress was made. It was not until 1814 that Dr. Young offered his "conjectural translation of the Egyptian inscription of the Rosetta stone." The plan which he pursued, as described by himself, was, in substance, as follows He first acquired the Coptic language, and adopted Akerblad's alphabet of the enchorial text, suspecting, however, from the beginning, that this writing contained symbolic signs as well as letters. He then commenced comparing *groups* of characters in the Egyptian writing with proper names in the Greek. Thus, finding in the fourth and fourteenth lines of the Greek, the words *Alexander* and *Alexandria*, he found in the second and tenth lines of the demotic inscription, groups which he conjectured were expressive of the same words. He states that he did not trouble himself, by an analysis of the groups, to ascertain the value of each particular character. Again, he observed the occurrence in almost every line of a small group of characters; he naturally concluded that it was either a common termination, or else some common particle. It was finally found to be the conjunction equivalent to our English *and*. He next noticed that a remarkable collection of characters was repeated some thirty times in the inscription; on looking to the Greek, he found the Greek word for *king* repeated about the same number of times; he hence translated the unknown group by that word. So also with the name of Ptolemy and the word Egypt; he compared as before the number of repetitions of these words in the Greek, with

the repetitions of certain combinations of characters in the inscription. His next step was to write the Greek text over the enchorial in such a manner, that what he supposed to be coincident words and passages should be brought into juxtaposition; thus the *intermediate* parts of the respective writings were of course brought near together, and the field of comparison became constantly less. As the result of the whole, he found nineteen letters of Akerblad's, and twelve more of his own, beside a star at the end of proper names. He had also, as he believed, found fifty groups of words, the first three of which were those already indicated by De Sacy, and analyzed by Akerblad: to these followed sixteen words which Akerblad had analyzed, and the residue of the fifty were his own. To these he added one hundred and fifty more, for which he thought he had found the corresponding word in the Greek inscription. Some of these afterward proved to be entirely wrong.

It would be most unjust to an acute, ingenious, and indefatigable mind, to undervalue the discoveries of Dr. Young. If he did not discover the whole art of deciphering the mysterious characters of Egypt, let it be remembered that the merit of complete discovery belongs to no one individual; and that where all were contributors to a common end, no one had, up to the time of Young's discoveries, accomplished as much as he had. He certainly, as Mr. Gliddon has stated, "cast *the first beam of true light* on the method adopted by the Egyptians in their peculiar art of writing." He first positively indicated on the Rosetta stone the name of *Ptolemy*, and on the doorway of Karnac read that of *Berenice*, both in the hieroglyphic characters. He it was who first showed that of the two Egyptian inscriptions, the one, the enchorial, was

"in good measure a corruption, abridgment, or running form of the other." He also is entitled to the merit of having found out the Egyptian mode of writing numbers. But he probably never contemplated the possibility of an entire phonetic alphabet as existing in the *hieroglyphics*. The utmost that he did was to suspect the existence of what he indicates by the vague phrase "a certain kind of syllabic system;" and that some few of the characters were the representatives of letters; he certainly knew nothing of the important fact of the use of what are called *homophones;* that is, of several different signs, which, by means of the initial letter in the name of that which they represent, are made to express the *same sound*.* Still it must be admitted that Young prepared the way, in many respects, for Champollion le Jeune; so called, to distinguish him from his elder brother, Champollion-Figeac.

Jean François Champollion would have been deemed, in any age, an extraordinary man. He was born in 1790, and from his earliest youth seemed destined to excel in that department of letters to which he devoted his life. The expedition of Napoleon, led to results which filled his mind with the contemplation of the strange revelations unfolded by a land of wonders. His imagination kindled as he dwelt upon the mysterious symbols which he knew embodied the long lost history of the early civilization of our globe. He found a fascination in the very effort to understand them; and, while yet a boy, at the age of seventeen, he laid before his teachers, as a literary exercise, an outline of a treatise on the ancient geography of Egypt, with an introduction and map. These he presented, as a specimen of the first part of a compre-

* Homophones will be fully illustrated on a future page.

hensive work which he contemplated, on the language, writing, and religion of the ancient Egyptians. The boy who, at the age of seventeen, indulged in such lofty aspirations, and found agreeable mental excitement in the pursuit of such studies as he had adopted, needed but health and opportunity to leave behind him an honored name, and to rear a monument on which the lettered men of future times would look with grateful admiration.

With his MSS. in his hand he presented himself, ere yet he was a man, to the principal scientific men of Paris, and, fostered by the advice and guidance of De Sacy, at the age of twenty, he commenced printing the introduction to his proposed work. It appeared in 1814, when he was twenty-four years old, and contained corrections of, and additions to Akerblad's alphabet, and related the result of his own researches into the Coptic. The grammar and dictionary of that language, which he then projected, maintains to this day its high reputation. But he was travelling over an untried field, where way-marks were few and indistinct at best, and his steps were necessarily slow and toilsome. His enthusiasm, however, sustained him. He was laboring under an error, which he afterward discovered, and magnanimously confessed. Champollion le Jeune proved himself to be a great man, for he was not ashamed to say "I have been wrong." The error alluded to, consisted in his deeming the hieroglyphics to be purely *symbolic.* Out of this error he extricated himself; but not until he satisfied himself that the hieroglyphical was the most ancient form of Egyptian writing, and that, would he succeed, his researches must begin with that. He had devoted time, as Young and others had done, to the enchorial or demotic writing, and had also studied the

hieratic, as it is called, which we will explain presently; but now, leaving these, his whole attention was directed to the hieroglyphics; and it was in this work that he reared for himself an enduring renown.

It is pleasant to remark, in tracing the progress of the human mind in any discovery, the seemingly fortuitous concurrence of circumstances which not unfrequently sheds unexpected light on the path of the discoverer, and without which, to all human seeming, the discovery would, probably, not then have been made. Champollion, in determining to commence with the hieroglyphics, knew full well what others had done. Dr. Young had steadily expressed his belief, that all Egyptian writing originated in the hieroglyphics, and therefore must contain symbolic signs; and not, simply, the alphabetic characters which Akerblad had found in the enchorial inscriptions: this principle he had endeavored to apply to the hieroglyphic names of kings, and had read "*Ptolemy*" and "*Berenice*." Dr. Young, however, never had explained the method by which he had proceeded. Beyond these particulars, Champollion derived no aid from him. Having, however, from Young's success, become satisfied of the importance of the royal rings containing proper names, he turned to them. It so happened that as early as 1816, Caillaud, the French traveller, who discovered Meroe, had met at the island of Philæ with a small obelisk, which was first discovered by Belzoni. On the pedestal of this obelisk is a Greek inscription, in which occur the names of Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Caillaud made a fac-simile of this inscription; and afterward, an English gentleman, Mr. William Bankes, transported the monument itself to his residence in Dorsetshire, and circulated copies of its hieroglyphic inscriptions among the learned. Both Young and

Champollion were acquainted with this monument. To the latter only was it of any value in interpretation. He observed on it hieroglyphics in a ring, precisely similar to those on the Rosetta stone, which Young had interpreted to mean Ptolemy; the Greek inscription led him to suspect that the other ring must contain the name of Cleopatra. The result of his investigation may best be told in his own words, as contained in a letter to M. Dacier: we prefix copies of the two sets of hieroglyphics to make his letter intelligible.

This hieroglyphic Dr. Young had interpreted, on the Rosetta stone, to be the name of Ptolemy.

Champollion, proceeding on the opinion that the characters within the ring might be, in some instances at least, phonetic or alphabetic, thus felt his way to the truth.

"The first sign of the name of Cleopatra, which represents a kind of quadrant, and which ought to be the letter K, (C)* should not occur in the name of Ptolemy, and it is not there. The second, a crouching lion, which should represent the L, is identical with the fourth of Ptolemy, which is also an L. The third sign is a feather or leaf, which should represent the short vowel E. Two similar leaves may be observed at the end of the name of Ptolemy, which, by their position, must have the sound of E long. The fourth character to the left, represents a kind of flower or root with its stalk bent downward, and should answer to the letter O, and is accordingly the third letter in the name of Ptolemy. The fifth, to the right, is a sort of square, which should represent the letter P, and it is the first in the name of Ptolemy. The sixth,

* The Greek Alphabet has no C in it; K is its substitute.

to the left, is a hawk, which should be the letter A. That letter does not occur in the Greek name Ptolemy, neither does it occu in the hieroglyphic transcription. The seventh is an open hand, representing the T, but this character is not found in the name of Ptolemy, where the second letter, T, is expressed by the segment of a sphere. The eighth sign, a mouth, seen in front, ought to be the letter R, and as that letter does not occur in Ptolemy, it is also absent from his hieroglyphic name. The ninth and last sign, which ought to be the vowel A, is a repetition of the hawk, which has that sound in the sixth. The signs of the feminine on each side of this hawk, terminate the name of Cleopatra; that of Ptolemy ends with a bent stalk, which we conclude to be the letter S."

If the reader as he proceeded has compared the letter with the hieroglyphics, he will have perceived that the ingenuity of Champollion had discovered in the hieroglyphical name of Cleopatra, certain signs, which, if alphabetic, served to express the letters *l*, *o*, *p*, *a*, *t*; and, that if used for the signs of those letters, they also harmonize very well with the literal spelling of the name of Ptolemy. By means of the two rings, therefore, assuming that these characters were phonetic, he had actually discovered what we should call twelve letters. But how did these palpable images of sensible objects express *letters?* That remained to be discovered: he knew their value as letters, but it was yet to be found out on what principle or rule they were made to have that value. He had observed of one letter T, which occurred in *both* rings, that, in the one it was indicated by the *segment of a sphere*, and in the other by an *open hand.* If the assumption on which he was proceeding were correct, it was obvious that here were *two* signs for the same letter. Instead of hence hastily con-

cluding, as some would have done, that his whole assumption was erroneous, his sagacious mind instantly saw a mode of explanation that removed the difficulty, by the supposition that the principle or rule by which a phonetic value was given to these pictured representations, was the very simple one of taking either the syllable or initial letter of the word, which in the ancient language of Egypt, expressed *the name of the thing represented.* Thus, if he saw a mouth delineated, phonetically it was R, because the word for mouth was *ro.* So of an eagle, it was A, because *Akhom* was the word for eagle. A hand was *Tot;* phonetically, therefore, it became T. Now it was obvious that the names of a great many different objects used in hieroglyphics might begin with the same letter, and hence that letter might be expressed by different signs, as convenience, or a neat arrangement of the writing, or some other cause, might dictate. Here, then, was the mystery of *homophones* laid open. All symbols or characters that phonetically expressed the same letter were homophones; and subsequent and long continued examination and comparison could alone show him whether this system of homophones was limited to a certain number of different objects, or was as extensive as the objects themselves. He found them limited, as will be seen hereafter in the alphabet of hieroglyphics. He had now reached a grand result; he proceeded to verify it by an examination of all the royal rings to which he had access, (the number was large,) and he triumphantly established the fact that he had discovered the long buried secret, and applied the true key, which Young had picked up but never used, to the intricate lock of hieroglyphical interpretation; for he read the names in all the rings he examined. Discarding all other methods, acting on Young's hint, he had sought the key to

an entire system of deciphering in the hieroglyphics alone; that course led to the discovery of the phonetic signs in the royal rings; and that again led to the discovery of the homophones. The work was done, he was on the right path, and he had but to proceed, for the whole hieroglyphic research was now in his hands; and he, whom we saw as the enthusiastic boy of seventeen with his bold but immature speculations, now knew that the name of Champollion le Jeune would not be forgotten until Egypt herself should cease to be remembered.

It is a curious fact that we so frequently find, in the history both of literary and scientific research, the claims of contemporaneous discoverers to be nearly equally balanced. Champollion's reading of the name of Cleopatra in the royal ring on the obelisk of Philæ has already been related, together with his own statement of the ingenuity by which he accomplished it; but the very same thing had been done, as it appears, by Mr. Bankes in 1818, though the fact was unknown to the world until after the publication of Champollion's letter to M. Dacier. The process pursued by Mr. Bankes is fully stated in a long note to a pamphlet on the phonetic system of hieroglyphics, published by Mr. Salt. Champollion, however, was prior in his publication by two or three years, and to him, as Mr. Gliddon has said, "exclusively belongs the merit of putting forth his system at once, and complete beyond all previous anticipation, applicable to every epoch, and to every legend in Egyptian history." Pursuing his investigations, and strictly adhering to the path on which he had entered, Champollion compiled an alphabet of hieroglyphics, and in 1824 gave to the world his magnificent work, "*Precis du Système Hieroglyphique.*" A hieroglyphical dictionary, and an Egyptian

grammar, are also to be enumerated in the list of his labors. At the age of forty-two he died, leaving behind him the merited reputation of having been discoverer, master, and guide in the intricate mysteries of hieroglyphic interpretation.

It would be unjust to one who has himself acquired no small reputation in the field of Egyptian research, to withhold the generous tribute which Sir Gardner Wilkinson has rendered to the merits of Champollion.

"To have had frequent occasion to introduce the name of Champollion, to whom we are so deeply indebted, without paying a just tribute to his talents, is to me a reproach which I cannot suffer to remain unremoved. I do not wish to enter into the question respecting the discovery of the proper mode of reading the hieroglyphics: suffice it to say, that Dr. Young gave the first idea and proof of their alphabetic force, which was even for some time after doubted by Champollion. And that the merit of originality in this point is due to our distinguished countryman, I can bear a satisfactory testimony, having, with my much-regretted friend, Sir William Gell, as early as the summer of 1821, so far profited by Dr. Young's opinions on the subject, as to be enabled to suggest the supposed value of two or three other characters, beside those he had already ascertained; our taking this view of the question being solely in consequence of his discovery *that they were the representatives of letters.* But it remained for the genius of a Champollion to kindle the spark thus obtained into a flame, and to display by its light, the path which led to a clear insight into the subject, to perfect the discovery, and to lay down certain rules, applicable in individual as well as in general cases; and in justice to him be it confessed, that, if our knowledge of hieroglyphics were confined to the limited

extent to which it was carried by Dr. Young, we should have no regular system to guide us in the interpretation of them, and should know little more than the alphabetic value of a few letters, without the means of affixing a positive construction to a single sentence on any Egyptian monument.

"Had Champollion been disposed to give more credit to the value and originality of Dr. Young's researches, and to admit that the real discovery of the *key* to the hieroglyphics, which in his dexterous hand proved so useful in unlocking those hidden treasures, was the result of his labors, he would unquestionably have increased his own reputation, without making any sacrifice. In this, as in the case of Mr. Burton's trilinguar (or rather trigrammatic) stone, and in a few other points, he may have shown a want of ingenuousness: all have their faults and vanities; but this is not a reason that the memory of one so respectable as Champollion should be aspersed, or due praise refused him; and we cannot forgive the ungenerous conduct of those who, from private pique, summon up and misapply talents to pervert truth; denying the merit of labors, which every one, acquainted with the subject, knows to have been crowned with unexampled and wonderful success. This is not an era when we could believe men capable of lending themselves to the unworthy office of maligning one no longer living to defend himself, and one who, present or absent, merits and possesses the respect and admiration of every unprejudiced person. Yet have some been found, in more than one country, prompted to this malicious act by personal enmity, envy of his superior talents and success, or by that affectation of skepticism, which, while it endeavors to conceal ignorance, often hopes to acquire credit for discernment and superior knowledge.

"When the subject of hieroglyphics becomes better understood, and the world is capable of judging how much we owe to him, the wonderful ingenuity of Champollion will be appreciated; and the greatest praise we can bestow on him is confidently to pronounce, that time will do justice to his merits, and experience prove the truth of what inexperience now calls in question."

If we do not dwell upon the works of Rosellini, Salvolini, Lepsius, Bunsen, Wilkinson, Birch, and others, worthy co-laborers or successors in the field which Champollion had opened, it is not from non-appreciation of their merits, but from want of the necessary space in which to do them justice. Suffice it, however, to say, that no point is, at this day, better established, from the labors of the learned, than that the inscriptions found on the decaying monuments and frail papyri of ancient Egypt, are, in many instances, perfectly intelligible; and it is perhaps not too much to hope, that the day will come when men may read, in their own tongues, the translation of *all*.

The statement of an amusing and interesting result that followed upon Champollion's discovery of the reading of the hieroglyphics, will not inappropriately close our narrative of his important and extraordinary labors. Among the monuments which had, in an especial manner, attracted the notice of the French savans who had accompanied Napoleon to Egypt, none had excited more learned controversy than two zodiacs, the one sculptured upon the ceiling of the temple of Dendera, and the other upon that of the temple at Esneh, in upper Egypt. For these monuments there was claimed an extraordinary antiquity, and it was confidently asserted that they completely exploded all Scriptural chronology. M.

Jomard made them at least 3000 years old when the Christian era commenced; while M. Dupuis would not abate a second of 4000 years; and M. Gori was very sure they could not be younger than 17,000 years! "Like birds of the night," (says Osborn,) "hovering over, or perching upon, the uncouth remains of ancient superstition, they filled the air with their dismal forebodings of the downfall of Christianity, or with shrieks of laughter still more revolting, when they thought that their object was accomplished. All these, however, were soon to be put to flight by that of which they professed themselves to be all the while most devoted worshippers—the light of truth."

When Champollion, in the course of his researches into royal rings, came to read that upon the zodiac of Dendera, he found the title of *Augustus Cæsar;* while on that at Esneh, he read the name of *Antoninus.* That temple, therefore, which M. Dupuis had declared to be 4000 years older than the Christian era, proved to have been built about the time of its commencement; and the edifice at Esneh, which had been profoundly demonstrated to be 17,000 years old when the Saviour came, was shown to belong to a period 140 years after his advent. And thus were exposed the pretence of learning and the insolence of arrogance, on the part of a class of men who sought, by bold perversion and confident dogmatism, to distort all that Egypt might reveal, into testimony against the Bible.

CHAPTER III.

Examples of Egyptian writing.—Hieroglyphic.—Hieratic.—Demotic.

HAVING, in the previous pages, endeavored to give to the general reader a brief outline, presenting an intelligible view of the chief features in the history of hieroglyphic interpretation; it only remains to complete this division of our task by an effort to illustrate, by *examples*, the subject of Egyptian writing. That some of the ancients were not entirely ignorant of the phonetic character of Egyptian writing is certain. We have no evidence, however, that any of them knew how to interpret it. Thus Pliny says, "for those sculptures and likenesses which we see, are *Egyptian letters*."* Porphyry, also, in the "Life of Pythagoras," states that the Egyptians had three different kinds of letters, *epistolographical*, *hieroglyphical*, and *symbolical*. But the most particular account is to be found in Clement of Alexandria. The passage is not without obscurity in some particulars, in others it is direct and plain. We give what seems to be the substance of his meaning, according to the interpretation of Bunsen, who has examined it with great critical care. The English version, as well as the original Greek, may be found in his first volume of "Egypt's place in the World's History." According to Clement, the Egyptians taught, first

* Etenim sculpturæ illæ effigiesque, quas videmus, Egyptiæ sunt literæ.

of all, the method of writing called the *epistolographic;* secondly, the *hieratic*, which the sacred scribes employ; and last of all the *hieroglyphic.* The epistolographic, according to the judgment of the learned, is the same that is sometimes called the *enchorial*, and sometimes, as by Herodotus and Diodorus, the *demotic.* It is necessary to speak of these separately.

I.—HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING.

This was the original mode of Egyptian writing. It has been conjectured by some who have speculated on the origin of the art of writing, (and with how near an approximation to truth the reader can judge for himself,) that the earliest attempt at conveying ideas to the mind, by marks addressed to the eye, is to be found in what is usually termed "picture writing." That such a mode has been resorted to by savage nations, as well as by those more or less advanced in civilization, is undoubtedly true. We know, for instance, that among the Indians, as they are termed in our own country, their rude representations of men, and brutes, and other physical objects, delineated on bark or skins, have been used, and are still, to convey information that is intelligible to their own people. So, too, in Mexico, intelligence of the landing of Cortez was communicated to the capital, by this mode of writing. Indeed, among the Mexicans, it had been carried to an extent much greater than is usually supposed, and is worthy of a more attentive study than it has yet received. It may not be uninteresting to present the reader with a specimen. It is the record of a marriage.

Such events as are here commemorated, were usually brought about by an old woman, who was a species of marriage broker. Here she may be seen (T) carrying the bride (W) on her back to the house of the bridegroom, accompanied by four women (X Z) bearing torches. At the house the bride (L) and the bridegroom (M) are seated on a mat; they are tied together by the corners of their garments, and are distinguishable from each other by the fact of the man's sitting on a stool. Two old women (N V) are sitting at one end of the mat, and two old men (I R) at the other. These are the witnesses. After offering to their gods a perfume of copal, came the marriage feast; there are two kinds of meat (P Q) and some pulse (S), and the cup out of which they were both to drink (A), is also delineated. The witnesses dined after the new married couple. Signs are seen coming from the mouths of the four witnesses; these are tongues, signifying *speech.*

Here they import the advice which it was usual for the aged witnesses to give to the new married couple.

Here it will be remarked that every thing delineated is but the sign of some sensible object. The imagination, added to a knowledge of Mexican marriage customs, makes the rude picture intelligible; but it conveys no *sound* of letter or word; it merely tells to the eye a story, which, though perfectly intelligible to every ancient Mexican, would not probably be read off or translated by any two into precisely the same language. It is not at all improbable, in the view of the Chevalier Bunsen, that the first writing of the Egyptians was of this pictorial character; though he thinks that the fact is not to be proved *from the monuments*. He deduces it from the essential nature and requisites of a figurative character, and a comparison of them with the individual elements of the system of hieroglyphical writing, as they are now known to exist.

According to Clement there were three modes of expressing ideas by hieroglyphic characters, all being the representations of physical objects, more or less exact.

I. The idea might be conveyed by direct imitation; that is, by a picture of the object intended to be expressed. Thus, the picture of a man denotes a man, and that of a horse, a horse.

II. By a symbolic or enigmatic use of the pictures of objects: that is, by the representation of one object conveying an idea of another. Thus, the relation of a son is designated by an egg, a goose, an eye, or a seed germinating, . We do not now stop to ask *why* these signs indicate this relation, or *how* the fact that they do so was discovered; our object is, at present, simply to illustrate

one of the modes of using the hieroglyphic symbols. It verifies Clement's remark, as quoted by Bunsen, that "they apply pictorial signs to objects of different import, and bring them, as it were, under another category, (*i. e.*, transfer them or express them metaphorically, as we should describe it,) for they sometimes interchange them, at others modify them in various ways.'

Under this species of hieroglyphic writing, there were, as is stated very perspicuously by Mr. Gliddon, *four* different modes of expression, viz.:

1st. A part was sometimes put for the whole; as, for instance, the head of a ram or goose was delineated instead of the whole animal. This was doubtless an abridgment of convenience merely.

2d. Sometimes the cause was put for the effect; for example, a month was expressed by a crescent, (the sign of the moon,) with its horns pointing *downward*, to indicate that it had passed through one of its regular periods—a lunation was ended. Sometimes again, the effect was put for the cause; a column of smoke ascending from a stove, meant fire. Sometimes, too, the labor done was symbolized by the instruments which had been used in its performance: thus, writing was expressed by the implements necessary to the scribe, viz., the reed, ink vessel, and tablet grouped into one symbol.

3d. Sometimes the idea was expressed by metaphor purely. Thus, a *vulture* represented a mother, because this bird was supposed by the Egyptians to nourish its young with its own blood. A *bee* meant a king, because of the real or supposed monarchical government under which that insect lived. It is perhaps worthy of investigation whether this use of hieroglyphics is not comparatively modern, and whether it be not

the "secret character" to which Clement alludes, and of which the work of Horapollo, before mentioned, furnishes numerous specimens. Certain it is, that many of the interpretations of Horapollo are not sustained by the ancient monuments or by the Book of the Dead, and Bunsen remarks of them that most of his explanations are little better than arbitrary subtleties or false cabalistic mysticism; and that most of his hieroglyphics are borrowed from the "secret characters," and consequently do not apply to the monuments or books.

4thly. Sometimes the hieroglyphic symbol conveyed its meaning by an enigma. Thus the Ibis stood for the god THOTH, because of some fancied mystical connection between the bird and the god; so also with other emblems of Egyptian divinities. The lotus flower indicated Upper Egypt, a roll of papyrus Lower Egypt.

III. Clement states distinctly that the hieroglyphic characters, in addition to the two modes of conveying ideas already described, were used also to express *letters* (though he does not tell us *how* they did it); and this brings us to the consideration of their most interesting use as phonetics, or the signs of sound. If the modern reader were merely informed that the ancient Egyptians possessed an alphabet, which had been recently discovered, he would doubtless conclude, from his acquaintance with what are known to him as alphabets, that a certain set of seemingly arbitrary linear characters, to which were attached certain sounds of vowels and consonants, was what had been brought to light. He certainly never would divine, from the announcement, that a very numerous set of pictures of common objects had been most ingeniously made to convey, each, the simple sound of a letter, often without the slightest reference to the character or purposes of the object delineated. He

would be much perplexed, for instance, to know why the picture of an *owl* should be M, or that of a *hand* should indicate a T. When the principle of Egyptian phonetics is explained, the wonder vanishes; and though the modern reader may justly think the plan complicated, he will also see that it is quite certain and intelligible in its application. The governing principle in the phonetic system is the simple one hinted at in the last chapter; viz., that a sound is represented by the pictorial image of some physical object; and that the mode of knowing *what* sound is meant, is to take the *name* of the object represented, in the colloquial idiom of the ancient Egyptians, and the *initial* letter or articulation of that name, is the sound or letter indicated. But an example is the best illustration of this principle, and none better can be made than that which is furnished to our hand by Mr. Gliddon in his first published lectures.

The tuft of a reed, called *Ake*, stood for A.

An eagle, " *Akhom*, " A.

A field, " *Koi*, " K.

A cap, " *Klapht*, " K.

An owl, " *Mooladj*, " M.

A mouth, " *Ro*, " R.

A beetle (scarabeus), " *Thore*, " TH.

An egg, " *Soohe*, " S.

A hand, " *Tot*, " T.

A lion, " *Labo*, " L.

A water tank, " *Sheei*, " SH.

Now to apply our alphabet; let us suppose an ancient Egyptian desirous of writing phonetically what we call 'crocodile.' He would give us the following characters:

The first is an owl, the second is the back of a chair, and the third is a twisted cord. The owl is called in the ancient language *mulag*, or as some write it, *mooladj;* this furnishes us with the initial M; so the initial of the next sign gives us S, while that of the last furnishes H. Placing the three together, we have *m s h;* supply the vowel, as is necessary in oriental languages generally, (for in the Semitic tongues it is frequently omitted,) and you get the word *msuh*, which is one of the Egyptian names for the crocodile.

Now it will be at once perceived that, as very many words must commence with the same letter, if *any* word may be taken to express, phonetically, its initial, there is danger of confusion; and hence it became important to ascertain how far this system of phonetic objects extends. Upon examination, the number of objects used in the Egyptian writing, was found to be limited. All objects that express the same initial letter are, as we have said, called *homophones;* from the Greek words implying the *same sound.* After the discovery of those objects which were ordinarily used phonetically, the way was open for the construction of a phonetic alphabet.

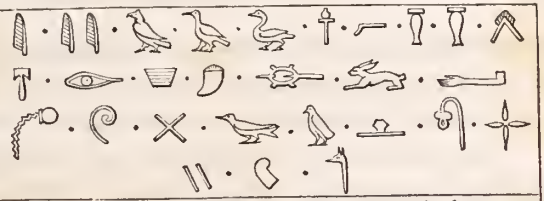
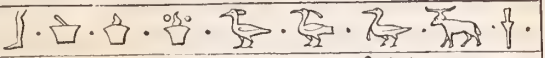
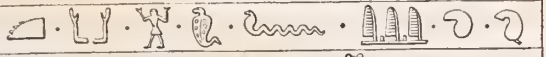
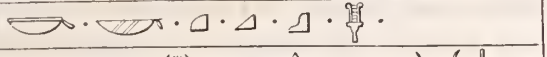
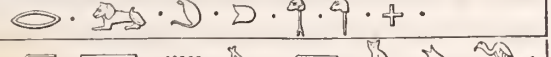
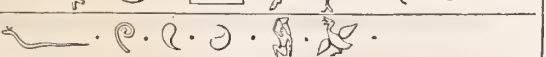
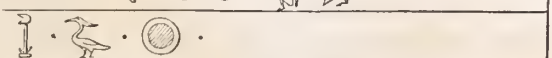
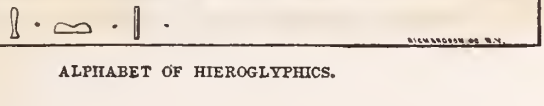
For the purpose of illustration merely, we subjoin such an alphabet. It should, however, be remarked, that upon the establishment of Christianity in Egypt, the ancient system of writing, from its supposed connection with idolatry, was laid aside, and the translations of the Bible and other religious books into the language of the country, were written in Greek characters. There were, however, six sounds in Egyptian,

which did not occur in Greek, and for these, characters were borrowed from the ancient enchorial writing. They were the following:

Ancient Enchorial.	As adopted.	Pronunciation.
		sh.
		F.
		ch. guttural.
		H.
		J.
		SH.

These, with the ordinary Greek letters, make up what is called the Coptic alphabet; and it has been the custom to use these in translations from the hieroglyphics. Chevalier Bunsen, however, in his late work, discards them, with the remark that "the Latin alphabet, with the addition of two Greek forms, is amply sufficient for the purpose of a correct transcript. The plan hitherto adopted of transcribing, or rather rendering ancient Egyptian words into Coptic, is quite unphilological and unscientific. There is no harmony between the Coptic alphabet with its great variety of letters, and the fifteen simple sounds of the Egyptian." We shall, as being more intelligible to the general reader, use t e Roman letters.

It should be remarked also that the Egyptian resembles the Hebrew, Arabic, and other oriental languages, in the great uncertainty of its vowels. The same word is frequently written with a different vowel. Thus the Coptic word signi-

A. Ē. Ĕ. Ō. Ŏ.	
B.	
K.	
SK.	
T. TH. D.	
L. R.	
M.	
N.	
P. PS.	
S.	
G. Dᵏ. Sᵏ.	
PH. F. U.	
H. KH. SH.	
SH.	
H.	

ALPHABET OF HIEROGLYPHICS.

fying "to wrap up" or "to fold," is written *kal*, *kel*, *kol*, *kōl*, without any change in the sense. Sometimes no vowel is used, as in *tb*, "a brick:" it is read *tobi*.

The question may perhaps be asked, whether there be any rule for the selection of homophones? There seems to be none which is always discoverable; sometimes the selection seems to have been made for the sake of mere symmetry of arrangement; though in some instances it appears to have been made on the principle of employing a figure which, while it expressed the desired *letter*, conveyed also to the mind the idea of some quality belonging to the object of which it was the picture, and applied it to the person or thing whose name was phonetically delineated. An example will illustrate this; and a good one is furnished in the Lectures of the Marquis Spoleto. Suppose the word to be expressed in phonetics to be *London:*

L.—We might here take the figure of a *lion*, *lamb*, *leaf*, *lancet*, or any other object that would supply us with the initial L.

O.—We might take the picture of an *oak*, *ox*, *owl*, &c.

N.—A *net*, *negro*, *north-star*, *nave* of a temple, would all furnish us with the desired initial.

D.—Here we might select from the figure of a *dromedary*, *dagger*, *deck* of a ship, or even the whole ship to signify the deck.

What shall guide us in the choice? London is the capital of a powerful, maritime people, and a lion is the emblem on the national standard. Our selection shall be made then with reference to these facts.

L.—We take the *lion;* it denotes strength, and is the national emblem also.

O.—We take the *oak;* its value in ship building is well known, and we are writing of a maritime people.

N.—We take a fishing *net* or the *north-star*, because these also are appropriate to a seafaring people.

D.—A ship or the *deck* of a ship, is obviously the proper selection.

Hence the word London would be hieroglyphically delineated by a *l*-ion, *o*-ak, *n*-et, *d*-eck, (*o* not repeated, on the principle of omitted vowels,) *n*-orth-star.

Another ingenious illustration of this mode of selecting homophones is furnished by Mr. Gliddon in his Lectures. He takes the word America, and thus proceeds:

A.—We might select one out of many more or less appropriate symbols; as an *asp*, *apple*, *altar*, *amaranth*, *anchor*, *archer*, *arrow*, *antelope*, *axe*. I choose the *asp*, symbolic of sovereignty.

M.—We have a *mace*, *mast*, *mastiff*, *moon*, *mouse*, *mummy*, *musket*, *maize*. I select the *mace*, indicative of "military dominion."

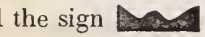
E.—An *ear*, *egg*, *eagle*, *elk*, *eye*. The *eagle* is undoubtedly the most appropriate, being the national arms of the Union, and it means "courage."

R.—A *rabbit*, *ram*, *racoon*, *ring*, *rock*, *rope*. I take the *ram*, by synechdoche placing a part for the whole, emblematic of frontal power—*intellect*—and sacred to Amun.

I.—An *insect*, *Indian*, *infant*, *ivy*. An *infant* will typify the juvenile age and still undeveloped strength of this great country.

C.—A *cake, caldron, cat, clam, carman, constellation,* &c. I choose the *cake,* the *consecrated bread*—typical of a *civilized* region.

A.—An *anchor,* or any of the words beginning with A, would answer, but there is no such hieroglyphic as an anchor. I take the sacred *Tau,* the symbol of "eternal life," which in the alphabet is A.

To designate that a *country* is meant, I add the sign  in Coptic "Kah," meaning a country. We thus obtain phonetically,

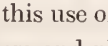
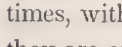
Country.

The characters expressed are "sovereignty, military dominion, courage, intelligence, youth, civilization, and perpetuity."

This may serve as an illustration of the principle; but as the *vowels* are generally omitted in hieroglyphic writing, the word would be written with the three consonants, "M. R. C.," and the sign for "country."

Another marked characteristic of this species of writing consisted in the use of what are called *determinatives.* They are used on the monuments very extensively and ingeniously. The use of a determinative consists simply in appending to the word, after it is written in phonetic hieroglyphics, a picture of the genus to which the object expressed by the word belongs. This is one of Champollion's discoveries. Thus, for instance,

after the word *cattle*, written in phonetic hieroglyphics *mn-mn*, it was followed by the picture of a cow. After the name of the divinity Amon, A, M, N, followed the representation of a sculptured idol. It has been made a question among the learned whether this suffix of a "determinative," was invented before or after the use of phonetics. Bunsen expresses the opinion, that "those generic signs, *before* the invention of phonetics, were in very many cases quite indispensable. Hence they came to be adopted in writing, and the practice was still retained, even after the phonetic character had rendered pictorial representations unnecessary, and in cases, such as those alluded to, absolutely superfluous."

There is frequently much ingenuity, and no small value (to the decipherer at least), in this use of determinatives of genus or class. Groups of characters and phonetic values are sometimes, with this aid, ascertained with absolute certainty; and they are applied to verbs as well as nouns. For example, the verb "to sculpture" or "to build," is written , the fourth character, a mason's trowel, is a determinative; to weep, *rima*, is written  , the last character is a determinative, an eye shedding tears; "to distribute" or "to equalize," is written , and nothing can be more significant than the determinative here, which is the plumb-line used in masonry. Sometimes the determinative of the verb is the instrument or means of the action expressed: thus, *shar*, to strike down or wound severely, is hieroglyphically expressed as follows:  ; the determinative is a man down, having an axe buried in his skull. Sometimes the verb was determined by pictures of visible objects, supposed to have some peculiar

quality similar to that which the verb was meant to denote. Thus "to be angry," has for a determinative an ape, because he is a very irascible animal: "to blush" or "to be red," is determined by a flamingo, a scarlet bird. The principle was carried further still; it was applied sometimes to the pronouns. "The pronoun of the first person, whether used either as the subject or object of the verb, or in the possessive form with the substantive, is frequently determined" (says Osborn), "by a picture of the person speaking, which on obelisks and other monuments elaborately finished, is a portrait." This may have led to the erroneous opinion of some that all the faces of great personages on the monuments are portraits. But as our object is simply to furnish the reader with some general idea of the singular graphics of the ancient dwellers in Egypt, and not to elucidate the grammatical structure of their language, we will not longer dwell on the subject of determinatives.

It remains to speak of one other species of symbol used in hieroglyphical writing, which was discovered by the acute mind of Champollion. It arises from a peculiarity in the ancient Egyptian language, said to resemble one in the Chinese, viz., the employment of the same sound to express many different ideas. Thus, a hatchet, named *Ter*, is one of the commonest symbols of "God or Divine Being," because that idea was denoted by the same sound, Ter. The weaver's shuttle is the symbol of the goddess Neith, because in the ancient language, *neth* was the word that meant shuttle. The idea of a physician is often represented by a duck; the name of the duck was *cein*, the Egyptian word for physician was *ceini*. As to the mode of writing the hieroglyphics, it was sometimes vertical and sometimes horizontal; it might be from

left to right, or from right to left; the latter was, perhaps, the more usual. The reading always commences from that end of the line to which the animals that may be delineated are represented as looking. It should also be remarked, that the hieroglyphics themselves may be *pure* or *linear:* thus

Pure. Linear.

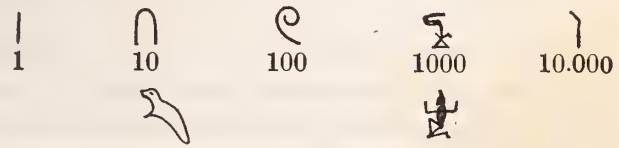
Reed—phonetically A.

Jackal—symbolically a *priest.*

Goose—phonetically S, symbolically *offspring.*

The pure class was always used in sculpture and painting; the linear was more common in ordinary life and in the literature of the earlier periods.

The system of *numeration*, which was discovered by Dr. Young, yet remains to be explained. The hieroglyphical numerals are as follows:



1 10 100 1000 10.000

1.000.000 1.000.000.000.000.000.000

The units are expressed by a stroke, but in groups, thus:

4 as 2 + 2.

5 as 3 + 2.

6 as 3 + 3.

7 as 3 + 4.

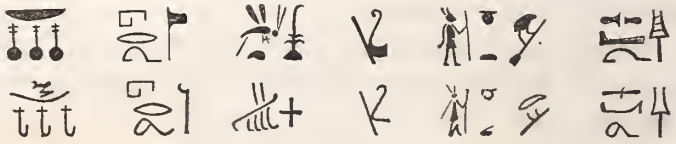
8 as 4 + 4.

9 as 3 + 3 + 3.

To this we have only to add that the names of kings are always written in hieroglyphics, in a ring, or as the French call it, in a *cartouche;* and now, with the hope that what has been said will suffice to give the reader a correct general idea of the hieroglyphic writing, we proceed to consider,

II.—HIERATIC WRITING.

This is a running form of hieroglyphics, and differs from that system chiefly in the more frequent substitution of what may be considered *alphabetic* characters for pictured objects. In many instances, however, the transition from the picture to the letter is plain. As an illustration of this, we subjoin part of the sixth line of the hieroglyphical inscription on the Rosetta stone, with the same text below, in hieratic characters, as drawn up by Lepsius.



Clement of Alexandria informs us that this character was peculiar to the priests, hence it was called hieratic. It is found in the papyri which have been discovered in the tombs of Egypt. Some of these papyri contain but repetitions, more or less abbreviated, of the great funeral "ritual" or Book of the Dead, to which we have already alluded. Of this book, Lepsius has published a copy, which plainly shows that its characters were frequently but linear copies of the sculptured hieroglyphics of the monuments. Some of the papyri that have

been found contain genealogies of kings, revenues of temples, &c.; while another class gives details of the expeditions and foreign conquests of the ancient kings of Egypt. As, however, this mode of writing formed part of the instruction of the priestly order only, it never (says Bunsen) could have held more than the second place in the educational system of the Egyptians.

III. THE ENCHORIAL OR DEMOTIC WRITING.

This is what Clement called the epistolographical. Of this we have already given a specimen on a previous page;* and we have now to add that, in the opinion of Bunsen, this also is derived directly from the hieroglyphic, though some have supposed it to proceed from the hieratic. He supposes this character to have been popularly used for the purposes of common life; and explains the fact of two different modes of writing, viz., the hieratic and demotic, having been derived, independent of each other, from the hieroglyphics as a common source, by the circumstance that the first sprang from the Theban dialect, and the latter from the Memphitic, between which there were fundamental differences. It seems, however, to be certain, that whatever may have been its source, the enchorial or demotic writing is comparatively modern, and probably made its appearance on the decline of the arts in Egypt. It is believed that no document in this character has been yet found of a date anterior to that of the Ptolemies; and this in Egypt may be considered modern.

* Ante, p. 35.

CHAPTER IV.

Climate of the valley of the Nile.—Extreme dryness.—General appearance of Egyptian ruins.—Temples, tombs.—Arts of design in ancient Egypt.—Principal localities on the Nile.

It may serve to make more intelligible what follows, to advert here to the general appearance of the Egyptian ruins, the arts of design as exhibited in painting and sculpture, and the climate of the valley of the Nile. We must therefore detain the reader for a short time with the consideration of these.

Egypt is a valley lying between two ranges of mountains, that extend from south to north; and is bounded also, on three of its sides, by deserts. The mountains are of no great elevation; on the east are the deserts of Arabia, interrupted only by the comparatively narrow waters of the Red Sea; while on the south and west stretches out the vast expanse of sand known as the Libyan desert, reaching on the south into the heart of Africa, and on the west, to the shores of the Atlantic. The position of Egypt, therefore, is marked by a striking peculiarity. It is in the centre of the largest tract of uninterrupted sterility and sand, on the face of our globe; and, as one of the consequences of its position, rain in Lower Egypt (which is the only Egypt spoken of in the Mosaic history) is generally said to be altogether unknown. It has,

however, been known to fall near the shores of the Mediterranean; this, however, is rare. Even in the Thebaid, or Upper Egypt, where it has sometimes fallen, its appearance is so rare, that the occurrence is deemed very remarkable.

This valley which we have described is, throughout its whole length, traversed by the river Nile; which, rising in the regions south of ancient Egypt, holds on its course northwardly, and empties its waters into the Mediterranean. To this river Egypt is indebted for its wondrous fertility. Ordinarily the waters of the river are somewhat muddy; and yet the universal testimony, both of natives and foreigners, bears witness to the pleasantness and salubrity of the water. Place the Egyptian where you will, there is no physical enjoyment of his country which memory oftener recalls, or for which he pines with more irrepressible longing, than for the waters of his beloved river. Regularly, every year, about the time of the summer solstice, (June 21,) the waters of the Nile suddenly change their appearance, and become red and turbid, being highly charged with fine black alluvial matter washed down by the torrents from the table lands of Abyssinia. They begin gradually to rise within the banks of the stream until about the middle of July, when they overflow them; and as the surface of the valley is convex, and the river runs as it were in a furrow over the highest part, it will be seen that a beautiful provision is thus made by nature for watering a region, that otherwise would be utterly barren. About the 20th of August, the valley presents the appearance of a great inland sea, spotted over with villages and towns. Causeways that have been laid on ridges or mounds erected for the purpose, furnish the only means of land communication between them.

Appearance during an Inundation.

About the period of the autumnal equinox the waters begin to subside, and before the end of November, the river is once more within its banks. The skill and industry of the inhabitants have for years been employed to increase, by artificial aids, this periodical season of natural irrigation. By canals and embankments, and in former times, by artificial lakes of almost incredible size, they have sought to lose not the smallest advantage that could be derived from the increase of the waters.

Another remarkable feature in Egypt is the extraordinary dryness of the atmosphere. The question has sometimes been asked, how it has been possible that the monuments of this ancient nation should have survived the touch of time for so many centuries, and, though dilapidated in some degree, should yet present to the eye of the traveller,

"A noble wreck, in ruinous perfection,"

so widely different from the architectural memorials of the past, to be found in the tropical regions of our own Central America and Yucatan? The burning sands of the almost boundless deserts have abstracted, from the atmosphere of Egypt, the great physical agent in the decomposition of matter,—moisture. Hence but little corrosion of the monuments,

but little obliteration of the paintings, is found. When injury has been sustained from natural causes, it has been produced by other physical agencies than those of moisture: the sand has sometimes done its work of destruction. Thus, among the ruins of Alexandria, an obelisk is still standing, which, on its north and east faces, retains much of the freshness and sharpness of its original chiselling; while on the other two sides, the sands of the desert, which have been beating against them for several hundred years, have partially, effaced the inscriptions. In any other country than Egypt, the whole would, probably, long since have been destroyed. A few years ago, the French transported an obelisk from Luxor, and raised it in Paris; and though the material is granite, and though for many centuries it had stood uninjured in its original position; yet it has already been found necessary to cover it with a liquid preparation of caoutchouc, to protect it from the corrosive effects of the atmosphere in Paris.

There are temples in Egypt which have been roofless for 2,000 years; their walls are covered with paintings. The colors are still distinctly perceptible, and in many instances, retain all their original freshness. It is not strange, then, that the sculptured stone should remain, often with the polish undimmed that it received from the hands of the workmen, many hundreds of years ago. Such is at this moment the case with fragments of temples, the demolition of which falls within the historic period, as it is known they were destroyed by Cambyses, 500 years before the Christian era. The same freshness, the same strange union of seeming youth with acknowledged age, is also to be seen in some of the cavern temples and tombs, excavated in the sides of the mountains. At Aboo-simbul, in Nubia, the white of the walls is unstained

by any touch of time's finger; the outlines of the figures never could have been sharper, the colors of the paintings never more vivid, than they are now. Indeed, it is said, that when one comes to that part where the tracings and outlines show that this great work was never finished, he is almost cheated into the illusion that it is still in progress, and that the workmen have but temporarily suspended their labors; so fresh is the appearance of the portion that is completed. But for the peculiarities of climate, we should probably at this day have few or no memorials of Egypt, to which we could turn, for the study of her history and progress in the arts of civilized and social life. For the last 1600 years these venerable and interesting ruins have been utterly neglected by the inhabitants; no Egyptian hand has been extended to prevent the wantonness of destruction, or stay the ravages of dilapidation. The marvel is, that any thing remains to be destroyed. Egypt has passed through strange vicissitudes since the erection of the pyramids of Ghizeh. An ancient monarchy has crumbled into ruins, repeated conquests have placed over her many foreign masters, civil wars have thinned her population, few of her ancient stock are left. In the circumstances that must have attended national calamities like these, it had not been strange, had almost every architectural or pictorial vestige of the past been lost to the world for ever. Is it superstitious to suppose that there may have been a Providence in their preservation? Is it a presumptuous interpretation of the purpose of God in his providence, to observe that an inquiring, searching spirit, demanding the proof of every thing, predominates in the minds of men at the present day; and from thence to infer the importance of this opening of a new and hitherto unexplored field of inquiry, and the

value of a powerful array of unanswerable evidence in favor of the Scriptures, which doubtless will be obtained from it? May it not be, that the real and true "philosophy of this age will be the instrument in God's hands wherewith he will oppose its infidelity?"*

The remains of former grandeur in this most interesting country, consist chiefly of edifices connected with religious ceremonies, and of places for civil assemblies. A few words of explanation on these may prove useful. There was scarce a city of note in Egypt which had not its temple, or, as it has been well termed by some, palace-temple, serving at once for the residence of the monarch and for the place consecrated to the rites of religion, or appropriated to important civil assemblies. On these ruins are found sculptured reliefs, which are generally colored, and have some reference to the false god of Egyptian mythology, in whose honor they were erected. This pagan divinity is commonly represented as receiving the homage of the king by whom the edifice was founded. This representation was usually delineated on the *propyla*, or two truncated pyramids, which stood, one on either side of the grand entrance, and served in the translation of its reliefs and hieroglyphics, as a sort of *title-page* to what was within. An example is afforded in the view of Luxor, annexed. In the interior, by means both of sculpture and of large paintings on the walls, the battles, sieges, marches, triumphs, &c., of the king were delineated. The spoils obtained by the victor often furnished, as it is supposed, a part at least of the means employed in the erection of the edifice. The halls in the interior are sometimes very large, as at Thebes, for instance,

* Osborn.

where there are some six, hundred feet in length, and half that distance in breadth, supported by massive columns twelve feet in diameter, and sixty-six feet high, placed at regular in tervals throughout the area of the apartment. The walls, pillars, &c., are covered with colossal sculptures of deities, kings, priests, religious processions, &c., while on the walls similar scenes are delineated in lively paintings. Some idea may be formed of part of the interior of one of these halls by the frontispiece to this volume.

In the representations of triumphs, the costume, and peculiarities of color and feature, among the captives of different nations, are carefully preserved, and often render essential aid in deciphering the sculptured history of the event commemorated. Of this we shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter. In almost all the representations of conquests, the king is represented as marching in triumph to the temple, and dragging long lines of captives, fastened by the neck, and

Negro captives.

with limbs distorted by being bound in the most painful positions. These reliefs are always accompanied by *hieroglyphic inscriptions* explanatory of the scene, and are indispensable in attaining to a correct understanding of the representation. The neglect of them has led to some strange errors. The sculptured representations of kings invariably have their names written over them, and commonly inscribed within an oval or *cartouche.* The names of the foreigners with whom they were at war, of towns they were besieging, as well as of the captives they are leading, are usually written in the hieroglyphics: sometimes the date of the erection of the edifice, and of the king by whom it was built, may be read. These dates are expressed by such a month in such a year of the monarch's reign.

The tombs of Egypt furnish also not only abundant evidence of her former grandeur, but also very valuable subjects of study to the antiquarian. In Upper Egypt, rocky mountains form the western boundary of the valley of the Nile. In these, immense caverns were cut, with incredible labor, as receptacles for the dead. In Lower Egypt, where no mountains exist, deep pits were dug, and lined with brick; or, where rock existed, they were dug into the rock, as places of interment. Nothing presents itself in the study of the manners and customs of ancient Egypt, as developed in her existing remains, more striking than the respect shown to the dead. Diodorus has remarked, that the Egyptians spent more upon their tombs than they did upon their houses. Some of the cemeteries are filled with the remains of the common people. These are not always in coffins, but, enveloped in the folds of the linen with which they were swathed, they are piled in the mummy pits with great regularity. They were all embalmed,

and the number is immense. Again, there are the family vaults of the wealthy, the priesthood, the military, &c. These are sometimes very extensive, consisting of various rooms connected by galleries, with the walls of the apartments covered with paintings. The scenes delineated most commonly have reference to the operations of ordinary life. The deceased is represented with his family around him; sometimes they are at the banquet, sometimes listening to music, or amusing themselves with the dance. Again, he is seen in the country, hunting, fowling, or fishing; next, he is superintending agricultural labors. In short, almost every species of mechanical trade is depicted in the tombs: all are scenes of activity, and it has been well said, that "every thing in them savors of life, but the corpse." The predominant wish seems to have been, to banish from them all that could suggest the idea of death; and the only explanation that offers itself of this singular custom is, that the proprietor of the tomb employed himself, while living, in the preparation for his posterity of what may be called a pictorial autobiography. But the aristocratic dead of these costly resting-places, unlike the poor, whose swathed mummies are packed in tiers, sleep in their respective sarcophagi of granite, basalt, or alabaster, sculptured over with figures and inscriptions, which it is charitable to suppose are at least as truthful as the majority of modern epitaphs. These stone coffins, it was doubtless supposed by their occupants, would protect their bodies, after death, from an unhallowed disinterment; but the very care taken to secure their remains from violation has often led to the desecration against which they would guard. The linen bandage around the common mummy of the pits offered nothing to the decipherer, while the inscriptions on the sarcophagus afforded to the zealous antiqua-

rian an opportunity not to be neglected, of adding characters to his hieroglyphic alphabet, or words to his Egyptian vocabulary. Many of the cabinets of Europe can show fragments of sarcophagi; few take the trouble to preserve many specimens of the common mummy of the pit. Sometimes these wealthy dead were coffined in a wooden case, or double case, of sycamore, covered with gilding and painting. These, as they offered the same temptation as the inscribed sarcophagus, have often shared the same fate. But the tombs contain beside the dead, other articles, the removal of which involves no charge of desecration. With the dead it was usual to deposit, in the tombs, articles of luxury on which they had set a value while living; and in the case of the humble artisan, the tools or utensils which he used in life, were laid with him when he rested from his toil. Hence various objects of interest have been found in the tombs. Elegant vases of granite, alabaster, metal, and earth are abundant in the various museums of Europe. The tools of the mason and carpenter, articles of household furniture, models of boats and houses, the pallets used by the sacred scribes, with their cakes of ink and reed pens or brushes, with various other articles, are by no means uncommon. Books written on rolls of the papyrus (made from the inner coat of a species of reed once abundant on the canals and lakes of Egypt, though now rarely to be met with) are also found, sometimes inclosed in the swathings of the mummy, sometimes in hollow cases of wood or in earthen jars.

It has thus happened, that though we have no continuous written history of ancient Egypt, yet, from a combination of unusual circumstances, we actually know more of the details of every-day life among its ancient people, than we do of such

particulars in any other nation of antiquity. These details have already served to elucidate such fragments of their history as are contained in the imperfect accounts of the Greek writers; and we trust they will be found also to confirm and elucidate the more accurate accounts that we have, in the sacred writings, of another and not less interesting people.

In inspecting the specimens of sculpture and painting presented in the remains of ancient Egypt, one is forcibly struck with the manifold defects to be found generally, alike in the design and execution; and these are the more surprising, when occasionally some specimen is met with confessedly of high merit, as exhibiting practised artistic skill. It is observable also, that these better specimens are delineations of something other than the human figure. Perhaps a reason for this may, to a certain extent, be found in a consideration of the purpose to which the Egyptians applied the arts of design. The effort was not with them, as with the Greeks, (from whom modern art is derived,) to speak through the eye to the imagination; theirs was the more matter-of-fact business of addressing the understanding. They were not seeking the beautiful, but the useful merely. Clement of Alexandria says truly that an Egyptian temple was γράμμα, "a writing;" and grace was not the prime object of the manuscript. The painting and sculpture of Egypt were meant, then, simply to convey facts, or what it was intended should be considered facts. The characters by which they sought to do it were but visible and often rude imitations of sensible objects; the heavenly bodies, men, brutes, birds, fishes, dress, furniture, &c.

In fulfilling their design, therefore, it was more important to convey the idea correctly and avoid mistakes, than it was to produce a finished work of art. Hence the representation

of the human figure seldom affords proof of elaboration in its execution; a very rude sketch was sufficient to show that nothing but man could be meant by it; commonly the face and lower limbs are in profile, while the body is presented with its full front; proportion also is sometimes utterly neglected. In fact, the rough drawing served but to *spell* the word *man*, while the hieroglyphics above it, informed him who could read them, who or what the man was. But in the very same picture, perhaps, containing a rough sketch of the human figure, birds, or other objects would be represented, drawn with great spirit, and colored with a minute attention to nature. Accuracy of delineation was resorted to when such accuracy was necessary to guard against mistakes, and it was therefore required to show the species of the bird represented. All that the artist sought was to convey an idea with precision, and in doing this he could call in the aid of hieroglyphics, both symbolic and phonetic. It was perhaps strange that he did not think of using either painting or hieroglyphics separately, to accomplish his object; but so it was that, using both, he could effect his purpose, and he consequently made no effort at improvement. It must not, however, be supposed that there was entire absence of artistic skill in the Egyptians, when they found an occasion for its exercise. There are not wanting statues executed by them, in which the anatomical proportions of the human figure are carefully represented; they unquestionably, also, were sufficiently minute and accurate in their work to produce portraits when necessary. It was, therefore, not want of capacity entirely that caused the productions of Egyptian art to fall so far short of the polished works of the Grecian chisel; their defects were purposed.

There was, however, one department of drawing, in which all the specimens yet seen, would justify the conclusion that they were entirely ignorant. They knew nothing of perspective, and some of their devices to remedy defects arising from this cause, are clumsy in the extreme. Thus, if it became necessary to depict three sides of an apartment, (as may be seen in the pictures of some of the granaries,) a separate elevation of each wall was made, and the distant end of the room was placed, in the drawing, *above* the elevation of the sides, as an entirely separate feature. From these and other causes, it requires some little practice and familiarity with the representations in Egyptian paintings and reliefs, to understand them. They present, at first, an indistinctness and confusion that make their comprehension difficult.

There was another particular in which, as artists, they were deficient. They seem to have known little or nothing of the application, in their coloring, of light and shade; nor is there now remembered among all the specimens yet seen, a solitary attempt at what is termed by artists, foreshortening. In their ignorance of perspective, and light and shade, it is perhaps worthy of note that they find, at this day, an exact resemblance in one of the most ancient civilized nations of the world, the Chinese.

CHAPTER V.

Localities on the Nile

Before we enter upon the direct work of a comparison of the Bible with existing Egyptian remains, we beg leave to detain the reader with such an account of a voyage on the Nile, and such a description of its most interesting sites and ruins, gathered from authentic sources, as may perhaps serve to relieve the tedium of discussions which may seem dry; and, at all events, aid in fixing in the mind important localities.

To the European or American visiting Egypt, the Nile itself must be a wonder, inviting observation and study. Its immense length, its mysterious commencement, its broad, deep current, unfed by tributaries, bearing its mighty volume of waters to the ocean, its surface elevated above the adjacent country, its sudden winds, its annual overflow, so indispensable to the comfort and even life of thousands of human beings; its geological aspects; all these invest the river itself with unusual interest, and suggest to the thoughtful mind subjects for study, independent of the monuments on its shores, which so alluringly invite us to wander in the mists of their shadowy antiquity. To one familiar with our own Mississippi, there

may, indeed, be some few features not altogether new; and some few of the Egyptian customs, in purifying the waters of the stream for use, &c., may recall to the traveller from the western part of our country, thoughts of home: but in general, all is novelty, and none the less striking for being a novelty founded on a rigid adherence to the usages of a remote antiquity.

Almost every traveller pauses in his narrative to dwell on the impressions produced by his first sight of and acquaintance with the river of Egypt, even before he has had time to see, much less study the interesting memorials on its banks. A very spirited writer, who, without entering into philosophical disquisitions and learned investigations, is content to tell us, in a very agreeable manner, what he saw, thus describes his sensations:

"I hastened on board; the sun had sunk and given place to a rosy twilight, and the moon peeped up above the rich level of the Delta. And here I must notice, that what reconciles the traveller to this land of plagues—of flies and beggars, of dogs and dust and vermin, is not alone the monumental wonders on the banks of the Nile, but the beauty of the climate, the lightness of the air, inspiring a genial luxury of sensation, the glorious unfailing sunset, and serene twilight, reflected in the noble river, and casting over the hoary remains of antiquity a glow and gorgeousness of hue which heightens their melancholy grandeur, and gilding over a mud village until even its filth and misery are forgotten. I mounted the roof of the little cabin as the broad latine sail swelled smoothly under the pressure of the Etesian wind, which, at this season of the inundation, by a wonderful provision of nature, blows steadily from the north, thus alone enabling vessels to stem

the powerful current of the rising Nile. I had embarked on that ancient and sacred river, renewing before my eyes its majestic current, diffusing the same blessings to its rich valley as it had done in the days when Egypt was a mighty kingdom, when Thebes and Memphis and the pyramids arose upon its borders. The rich fans of the plume-like palms on the banks were painted on the warm glow of the westward horizon, the level valley with its wealth of production spread away in dusky haze, but the breeze brought off from the shore its odorous musky fragrance, lamps twinkled in the cottages, and cast their reflections into the glassy stream—the noise and babble of the Fellahs, and sounds of the Darrabuka, or Egyptian drum, came off and died away as we sailed past the villages on the bank. The boat, with her broad sails and her long wake whitening in the moon, and her Arab crew, lying upon deck, chanting their peculiar and plaintive songs, flew rapidly along through those historic waters. I sat up to a late hour, so delightful was my first impression of the patriarch of rivers."

The scenery on the Lower Nile is, on the whole, monotonous, yet, from its very strangeness, fixes the traveller's attention.

"The villages of mud huts, embowered in palm groves that line the bank, with their pretty white minarets, and their noisy babbling crowd of Fellahs—the glimpses of the vivid green valley and its yellow desert boundary, like life and death in startling juxtaposition and contrast—the sandy shoals covered with pelicans or ibises of brilliant white plumage, large flights of wild fowls and of pigeons from the villages,—the picturesque boats with their gay-colored passengers,—the men paddling along on rafts of water-melons or pottery,—the

little thronged cafés under the deep shade of a grove of sycamores and palms,—the creaking 'Sakias,' or water-wheels used for the purpose of irrigation, all form a sort of slow, moving panorama, which, seen under a brilliant sky, by their lively novelty, serve to amuse for a while the tedium of our noonday progress."

Interesting, however, as the river is when confined within its banks, it presents a picture nowhere else to be seen at the period of its annual overflow.

"When the river has attained its maximum, very singular is the appearance of the whole country. On the high-raised bank you stand, as it were, between two seas, beholding on one side the swollen turbid flood, hurrying down rapidly in its irresistible might, and on the other, the inundated expanse, extending to the desert boundary of the valley; the isolated villages in their groves are scattered about like floating islands, the palm-trees half buried, and, except in a few places, the Gise, or dyke, affords the sole circuitous communication from one place to another. As it begins to fall, the sower, wading into the mud, literally 'casts his bread upon the waters' which cover the recent and still liquid deposit; when the water drains off from particular places, a carpet of the most vivid green immediately follows in its train, and the face of the land glows with a new-created beauty. The level of the alluvial land, as well as the bed of the river, are gradually raised, so that the constant aggression of the sandy desert on the fertile valley, from which some have anticipated the ultimate destruction of the latter, is, though triumphant at some points, continually counteracted in the main, by the eternally vivifying influence of the waters. The river, to whose beneficent agency the ancient Egyptians owed their greatness, was, with their cha-

racteristic reverence of spirit, regarded by them as peculiarly sacred."

But it is time to leave the river; and Cairo first invites our notice.

This is essentially an Arabian city. In the year 638 Amer conquered Egypt, and wrested it from the Byzantine emperors; and he founded *Fostat*, or Old Cairo, on the banks of the Nile. In 868, Tooloon, who governed Egypt under the Caliph, threw off his allegiance, and built, to the eastward of Fostat, a palace and a mosque, which served as the nucleus of the present Cairo. In 923, the Fatimites invaded Egypt successfully, and, extending to the eastward of the mosque of Tooloon, founded the present city. At length the renowned Saladin became sovereign of Egypt and Syria, and added largely to Cairo, strongly fortifying it, and building a citadel on Mount Mokattam. During the Crusades, efforts were made more than once by the Christian armies to take it; but it never fell into their hands.

"Cairo has been well described as occupying the natural centre of Egypt. Heliopolis was only five miles below, and the site of Memphis not more than ten miles above the present capital. The position commands the approaches to Upper Egypt, and is upon the direct and natural thoroughfare between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. It is at present nearly three miles from the Nile, a branch of which, however, formerly flowed much nearer to it, and about twelve miles south of the upper or southern termination of the Delta. There the river is divided into two channels, through which its waters flow into the Mediterranean, one diverging to the northwest, the other to the northeast, thus giving a triangular form to the alluvial region below. Cairo is chiefly built

upon the alluvial plain of the Nile, but the eastern part of the city rests upon the lower declivity of Mount Mokattam, a part of the long range which separates Egypt from the Desert of the Red Sea. Thus while from its northern and western gates you issue forth at once into the luxuriant verdure of the Delta, from its southern and eastern you plunge as suddenly into an arid wilderness."

Probably no more complete Arabian city now exists, for, as yet, few foreign innovations have been made, though the work has begun. In the interior of the city may be found, here and there, a public square; but its streets are narrow and crooked lanes, the widest of which are barely wide enough to permit two loaded camels to pass abreast. The houses are built in successive stories, each overlapping that below, from the latticed windows of which the inmates can look upon the passengers in the street, while they themselves are concealed. Sometimes, as in the Jews' quarter, the stories of opposite houses approach nearer and nearer, until at the top they actually meet. Over the doors of the houses the ancient Egyptian custom of an inscription is still observed, and these now are generally of a religious character. By the sides of the walls are frequently to be seen what are called "sibeels," or public fountains, often the work of private benevolence, in a land where water is among the first of blessings. Whoever pleases (says a traveller of our own country) ascends the two or three steps from the street, takes a metal cup through an aperture in the gilt iron-work, and drinks his fill. The cup is fastened by a chain.

The crowd in the streets is represented as incessant, and in almost every variety of costume. The Bazaars are objects of striking interest to strangers.

"Through a labyrinth of these narrow streets we advance into the Bazaars. These, in an oriental city, are the great gathering place of the population, the centre of traffic, the seat of flying rumors, and the lurking place of secret conspiracies. They consist of one main avenue running through the centre of the city, with endless and intricate branches, generally covered, and some of them sunk into a twilight obscurity. The crowd that pours through them is incessant. Each trade has its separate 'sook' or quarter, and there are numerous 'Wekalehs' or Khans, for the reception of merchandise, large courts opening from the Bazaars, surrounded with buildings, and defended by strong gates, which are kept closed at night. The whole scene is marvellously original; every turn presents us with a fresh picture of oriental life and manners."

The citadel stands on a spur of the mountain, and the road to it is partly cut through the sandstone of which the mountain consists.

"The walls are solid, and in some places from fifty to one hundred feet high. Passing through its entrance court, we come upon a terrace commanding one of the grandest prospects in the world. Cairo, with its countless number of carved domes and fantastic minarets, is taken in at a glance. To the eastward, in a secluded valley separated from the city, the long range of the tombs of the Memlook sultans stretches into the distant desert towards Suez. On the south extends the dense verdure of the Delta, a dark green streak which comes up abruptly to the edge of the yellow sands. There stood Heliopolis, the most learned city of Egypt, and there yet stands its obelisk, upon which Abraham may have gazed with curiosity as he entered that wonderful land. But it is to the westward that the chief glories of the scene expand; the long

range of the dusky pyramids, from the nearer ones of Ghizeh to those of Sakhara and Dashoor, standing in sublime serenity above the site of vanished Memphis, sole but most glorious relics of the pride and power of the early Egyptian kings of Lower Egypt; pointing backward from an antiquity already hoary, through a long and dim vista of unknown monarchs, towards the unknown origin of civilization."

The general internal arrangement of private dwellings is thus described by Bartlett:

"Coolness, together with that seclusion required by the domestic habits of the Orientals, are the principal points which have been studied in all their arrangements. The foundation-walls are of stone, and the superstructure of brick; the lower windows in those facing the streets are above the line of vision, even of persons on horseback; the windows of the upper stories project into the street, and are carried out and cased externally by wooden lattice work, sufficiently open to admit the air and light, which comes thus softly veiled into the interior, enabling those within to obtain a view into the street without, while they are themselves entirely concealed from the closest scrutiny of passengers, or even opposite neighbors. In addition, these windows are generally shaded by a projecting cornice of carved wood-work, casting deep shadows over the front, of graceful and ornamental patterns. In the narrower streets these nearly or quite meet, but in new houses they are being gradually lessened, while the rich and raised carving is giving place to glass and lattice of a simpler character, so that by degrees the picturesque aspect of the streets will be much impaired. A winding passage usually leads through the ornamented doorway into a court, into which the apartments look, with doors conducting to the harem—the upper apartments,

exclusively occupied by the women and children, with the master. In the court is generally 'a well of slightly brackish water, which filters through the soil from the Nile; and on its most shaded side are commonly two water jars, which are daily replenished with Nile water, brought from the river in skins.' There is sometimes also a palm-tree."

But it is time to leave Cairo for the chief objects of interest in its vicinity. A ride of two hours is sufficient to reach the site of the ancient Heliopolis, or On. A little beyond the modern village of Matareeh the traveller enters the area of Heliopolis, between the mounds caused by the ruins of the crude brick walls which once surrounded it. The area is small, not more than three-fourths by one-half of a mile. In fact, the city was never large, having been a collection merely of colleges and temples; but of great renown as the chief seat of Egyptian learning. Here, probably, Moses became learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; here Strabo was shown the house in which Plato and Eudoxus lived for thirteen years; and here, too, Plato is supposed to have learned the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which undoubtedly was part of the faith of ancient Egypt. The area is now a ploughed field, containing a garden of herbs; and the sole memorial left of its former grandeur is the obelisk of Osirtasen I., which may be seen from afar, lifting its head high above the grove of acacia and date-trees in which it stands. The base of the obelisk is now buried several feet in the earth, deposited by successive inundations; and bearing as it does the name of Osirtasen I., the monument establishes its claim to a high antiquity. It probably stood in the days of Joseph, and Osirtasen I. is supposed to have built the older part of the great temple of Karnac, in the day of Theban splendor.

Ascending the river, a little above Cairo, on the western side of the stream, are the pyramids of Ghizeh, Saqqara, and Dashour.

"The pyramids of Ghizeh" (thus writes a modern traveller) "are numerous; but those which are spoken of as *the* pyramids are three in number; they are situated at the confines of the great Libyan desert, on a bed of limestone rock about one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sand, and one hundred and sixty above the river. There is now scarcely a vestige of the ruins of Memphis; but sufficient observation has been made to determine the site of that ancient city; and the pyramids are believed to mark the situation of its *western* suburbs." The Greek writers, who have said any thing illustrating the history of Egypt, all concur in stating that it was the unanimous tradition of the Egyptian priests, that the pyramids were the oldest of their monuments.

According to Manetho, the three great pyramids at Memphis were built by the first three kings of the fourth dynasty. In a small tomb near the great pyramid, the name of the founder has been discovered. Manetho writes it in Greek, Σουφις (Suphis); Eratosthenes says that, in Egyptian, this means κομαστος, i. e. "one who has much hair." The phonetic hieroglyphics, it is said, furnish as the name, two words, which in Coptic mean "much hair." The name of his son, who founded the second pyramid, has also been discovered in an adjacent tomb. In the cartouche it reads She-fré. Manetho calls him Suphis II., and Herodotus writes it Cephrenes. Col. Vyse deciphered the name of the founder of the third pyramid on the remains of a coffin, which he discovered in the interior of it. The name, as usual, is in a cartouche; read off into characters familiar to us, it is Mēn-ka-re. According

to Manetho, the name of the builder of the third pyramid was Mencheres.

We gladly enrich our pages with the lively narrative afforded by a modern traveller of his visit to these most ancient of Egypt's records of stone; trusting that an apology for its length will be found in its interest.

"We determined, however, to pass a night at Ghizeh, and to see the sun rise from the summit of the great pyramid. But little preparation is needful, some of the excavated tombs serving as a nightly shelter, and the neighboring Arabs furnishing milk and other necessaries. Some cold provisions and a few candles were all with which we chose to encumber ourselves. We set forth from Cairo in the midst of one of those afternoon tempests of hot suffocating dust which are among its most tormenting plagues, penetrating into the inmost recesses of the houses. The air came in hot gusts like blasts from the mouth of a furnace; the impalpable sand whirled and eddied through the narrow crowded streets, filling the mouth, ears, and eyes, and obscuring all but the nearest objects in a cloud of pale red haze. We kept on our way nevertheless; by the time we reached the open suburbs, the squall gradually passed over; and when we reached the ferry over the Nile at Old Cairo, the sky was perfectly serene.

"This ferry is one of the most beautiful, as well as bustling spots in Egypt. The light arabesque houses and swarming cafés of Old Cairo run parallel with the river, and in front is an open space piled up with immense heaps of corn, which, in this dry climate, are left without danger in the open air. There are women selling rich clusters of grapes, melons, figs, and dates. An incessant and most noisy crowd pours down to the ferry upon horses, camels, and donkeys. The river comes

down in a broad and glassy current, divided into two channels by the island of Rhoda, the greenest and most beautiful in all Egypt, at the point of which is the building containing the Nilometer, for ascertaining the rise of the river. Its banks are lined by large djerms, or carrying boats, while others sweep down with their blue striped latine sails, swelling to the breeze like the expanded wings of some enormous bird. On the opposite side, above the chocolate-colored alluvial bank, extends for miles a rich green level, brilliant with luxuriant and variegated crops, dotted with palm groves, and enlivened by Arab villages and minarets. At its extremity, in the strongest contrast, are the yellow sands of the Libyan desert, on the rising edge of which are ranged the eternal pyramids. In the time of the Romans, when Memphis was yet a great city, there was a bridge of boats across the Nile somewhere near this spot; but now the communication is entirely kept up by means of the ferry. We squeezed down with the rest, and after much contention among the boatmen for the prize of an extra piastre, were huddled, with our donkeys, into one of the smaller barks; and, the huge sail being loosed, in a few moments flew across to the opposite side, and mustered our donkeys upon the raised agger or dyke. Our ride across the plain was somewhat circuitous, on account of the rising inundation, which had not yet, however, entirely cut off the usual communication. We reached the edge of the cultivated land as the sun was setting behind the pyramids in a flush of glory, shooting beams of intensely red light across the irregular sands. Our approach was not unperceived, and a whole posse of Arabs soon rushed forward, not to offer, but to force upon us their importunate, annoying services. It was useless to drive them away; they returned like flies to the attack; fortunately, we had brought

with us a well-armed janissary, who knew how to deal with them, and whose baton was pretty freely used upon their heads and shoulders. When we reached our dormitory among the tombs, the Sheik of the village came forward, and we agreed with him for the services of two Arabs to accompany us about the neighborhood, and help us on the following morning to ascend the great pyramid. This done, we sallied forth by the light of the rising moon, which touched the tops of the billowy waves of sand, while their hollows were in deep shadow. A majestic apparition suddenly burst upon us—an enormous head and shoulders, whitened by the moonlight, towered above the extremity of one of the sand ravines which lay in obscurity below, through which, far beneath the chest of the statue, dimly peeped out the traces of the winged globe upon the tablet formerly buried beneath its paws. The features were much mutilated, yet an expression faintly beamed through them of bland repose and immutable serenity. The pyramids in all their vastness arose behind. No assemblage of objects could be more awful or imposing. The heaving sands which surge up and down, like the petrified waves of a sea, by concealing the base of the Sphinx, and burying the temple and avenue of approach which formerly led up, cause it to resemble some mysterious preadamite monarch, or one of those gigantic genii of Arabian fiction, which make their abode in the desolate places of the earth. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should, as Wilkinson informs us, be known to the superstitious Arabs of the present day by the name of Aboolhôl, or 'the father of terror' or immensity.

"In its state of pristine perfection, no single statue in Egypt could have vied with it. When by the labors of M. Caviglia, the lower part of the figure, which had been covered up by the

sand, was at length uncovered for a while by laborious and Sisyphus-like toil, (the sand slipping down almost as fast as it could be removed,) it presented the appearance of an enormous couchant Sphinx, with gigantic paws, between which crouched, as if for protection, a miniature temple with a platform, and flights of steps for approaching it, with others leading down from the plain above. A crude brick wall protected it from the sand. It is hardly possible to conceive a more strange or imposing spectacle than it must have formerly presented to the worshipper, advancing as he did along this avenue of approach, confined between the sand-walls of the ravine, and looking up over the temple to the colossal head of the tutelary deity, which beamed down upon him from an altitude of sixty feet, with an aspect of godlike benignity. On uncovering the paws, accordingly, many inscriptions were found, records of the admiration of Grecian travellers, and of careful restorations by the Roman emperors.

"The whole figure is cut out of the rock, excepting the fore legs. The head formerly was adorned with a cap, which has been removed, but portions of the drapery at the side of the face remain. Should any one imagine that the annexed representation exaggerates the size, it may be stated that the circumference of the head around the forehead is given by Pliny as one hundred and two feet. It is supposed to have been originated by Thotmes III., and the names of his son and of later monarchs are inscribed upon it, and they are represented as offering sacrifice to a smaller representation of it.

"From contemplating this marvel of the ancient world, we repaired to our nocturnal abode in a tomb scooped out of a ledge of the rock on which the great pyramid is reared. Having arranged with certain Arabs to wake us up in order to

ascend it before sunrise, we lay down, s.apped, and slept soundly on our carpets.

"Beautiful is the dawn in every land; but in Egypt peculiarly grateful, from its refreshing coolness and shadow, too soon exchanged for the glare and heat of the long summer's day. The Arabs awoke us from our slumbers in the tomb, and in a few moments we were at the base of the great pyramid.

"As in the case of the Falls of Niagara, so it is with these marvels of human creation, it is not until you stand close beneath them that you realize their stupendous magnitude and almost overwhelming grandeur. In looking up at these countless layers of masonry, each of them more than breast high, which tower upward to the dizzy apex, imagination readily exaggerates the difficulty of their ascent; but to the Arabs the feat is as familiar as going up stairs, and their fearlessness and dexterity are sufficient to assure the most timorous. It is at the northeast corner that we began the ascent, where time and accident have somewhat wrought the massive stonework into cracks and fissures; of these the Fellahs know every one, and seizing our hands, they rapidly hauled us upwards, instructing us in every foot-hole; and shouting, laughing, one pulling us from above, another unceremoniously propelling us in the rear, in a very short time we stood midway up the giant sides of the monument, where we paused a moment, and pressing our backs against the stonework, glanced, half fearfully, down the steep descent of steps upon the ocean of sand at their base, and the boundless horizon expanding in front, at the same time peeping upwards to the sky-piercing summit. Averting our eyes from the dizzy prospect, we then turned round, and more and more excited as we continued the clam-

ber, after a short and desperate scramble, arrived panting and palpitating at the top. Here the fall of a few layers has left a small platform of level stonework, cracked, weather-beaten, and corroded by some thousand years of time and tempests, and inscribed with the names of travellers from every land.

"The view from the great pyramid is wonderful as the structure itself. From its skyey crest we look down upon two regions different as life from death. Far as the eye could see stretched away the glorious valley, the eternal fertility of which has outlived the empires founded on, and nourished by, its prolific soil. The same phenomenon to which that fertility was owing was visibly renewed before my eyes: wide portions of the valley were already becoming so many lagoons; the villages and palm groves were isolated; the life-giving waters poured from the brimming river were making their way through various channels, to saturate and enrich the plain. And every where coming up to its green edge, and hemming it in with an impassable barrier, are the yellow sands of that boundless Libyan desert, stretching away to the westward, on the elevated edge of which the pyramids are placed. From the summit of the first of these the second appears in all its grandeur; the tempest has lashed up the sand in great masses against its giant sides; at its foot is a region of the most ancient tombs and pits in the world, the resting-places of priests and nobles clustered round their monarch; their yawning orifices, like the dens of wild animals, honeycomb the broken sand. The Sphinx from hence appears magnificent; the neighboring group of palm-trees dwindles to a tiny speck.

"It was a luxury to look up into the immense arch of the sky, to which we seemed nearer than to the earth, and here of such pure unclouded transparency—we might penetrate into

the depths of azure space. Over the eastward mountains, on the other side the Nile, the dawn was shooting upwards its glorious radiance through the vast concave, a few thin bars of lustrous crimson of almost insufferable brilliancy appeared, and the sun rose like a ball of intense fire. As it clomb the sky the landscape kindled into life; the distant Nile, and the waters of the inundation, flushed with the growing splendor. The smoke curled up from the Arab villages, awaking with all their noises; the barking of dogs, the shrill babble of Fellahs, and the lowing of cattle, faintly ascended to our airy post. But the only sound that arose from the immense expanse of the Libyan desert, was the wailing of the winds, as they contend over its dead surface, and pile it up into shapeless swells and ridges, awakening a wild and mournful music. From the second pyramid and that of Mycerinus were cast, by the rising sun, majestic shadows which seemed to stretch half across the blanched and desolate expanse, a sublime effect which can be but faintly imagined by those who have not witnessed it.

"There is an immensity in all the elements of this scene, and in the ideas they excite in the mind. The works of man seem in their magnitude and eternal durability to contend, as it were, with those of nature. Every thing is so strange, so vast, so suggestive of a host of wonderful associations, that there is, perhaps, no other spot on earth where the mind is more exalted and awed. More fortunate than many others, owing to our arrangements, we were quite undisturbed in this contemplation. Our two Fellahs crouched down half asleep on the layers of stone below us; and a young Arab girl, who had climbed after us with a porous water-bottle in the hope of gleaning a few paras, sat immovable as a stone upon the top-

most ledge, cutting the desert horizon with her lithe and graceful form.

"How many illustrious travellers in all ages have sat and gazed upon the scene around! and how endless are the speculations in which they have indulged! 'The epochs, the builders, and the objects of the pyramids,' says Gliddon, 'had, for two thousand years, been dreams, fallacies, or mysteries.' To begin at the beginning, some have supposed them to be antediluvian; others, that they were built by the children of Noah to escape from a second flood,—by Nimrod, by the Pali of Hindostan, and even the ancient Irish. It was a favorite theory until very lately, that they were the work of the captive Israelites. The Arabians attributed them to the Jins or Genii; others, to a race of Titans. Some have supposed them to have been the granaries built by Joseph; others, intended for his tomb, or those of the Pharaoh drowned in the Red Sea, or of the bull Apis. Yeates thinks they soon followed the Tower of Babel, and both had the same common design; while, according to others, they were built with the spoils of Solomon's temple and the riches of the Queen of Sheba. They have been regarded as temples of Venus, as reservoirs for purifying the waters of the Nile, as erected for astronomical or mathematical purposes, or intended to protect the valley of the Nile from the encroachments of the sands of the desert (this notable theory, too, is quite recent); in short, for every conceivable and inconceivable purpose that could be imagined by superstitious awe, by erudition groping without data in the dark, or reasoning upon the scanty and suspicious evidence of Grecian writers. At length, after a silence of thousands of years, the discoveries of Champollion have enabled the monuments to tell their own tale; their mystery has been, in great

measure, unravelled, and the names of their founders ascertained. The explorations of Colonel Vyse, Perring, and recently of Lepsius, have brought to light the remains of no less than *sixty-nine* pyramids, extending in a line from Abouroash to Dashoor. These, by the discovery of the names of their founders, are proved to have been a succession of royal mausolea, forming the most sublime Necropolis in the world. The size of each different pyramid is supposed to bear relation to the length of the reign of its builder, being commenced with the delving of a tomb in the rock for him at his accession, over which a fresh layer of stones was added every year until his decease, when the monument was finished and closed up. Taking the number of these Memphite sovereigns and the average length of their reigns, the gradual construction of the pyramids would therefore, it is presumed, extend over a period, in round numbers, of some *sixteen hundred years!* Imagination is left to conceive the antecedent period required for the slow formation of the alluvial valley of the Nile until it became fit for human habitation, whether it was first peopled by an indigenous race, or by an Asiatic immigration, already bringing with them from their Asiatic birth-place the elements of civilization, or whether they grew up on the spot, and the long, long ages that might have elapsed, and the progress that must have been made, before monuments so wonderful could have been erected.

"Such is the latest theory, we believe, of the construction and import of the pyramids. At the risk, however, of irreverence towards the learned authorities by whom it is propounded, we would remark, that it appears inconsistent with the construction of the great pyramid of Cheops, since the existence of a series of interior passages and chambers, and

even of air passages communicating with the exterior, seems to argue a regular design for the construction of the *entire* monument. We are utterly at a loss to conceive how their interior passages and chambers could have been formed *gradually*, as upon this theory they must have been. during the accumulation of a mass of masonry, the ultimate extent of which depended on the contingency of the monarch's life. And if this objection be fatal to the theory, what becomes of the very pretty system of chronology erected upon it? To be sure, the mere existence of such a number of these monuments, most probably erected successively on a given spot, seems of itself to argue an immense antiquity; but, as Mr. Gliddon well remarks, 'the gross amount of cartouches (or names of sovereigns) must be known *before* valid opinions can be expressed as to the era of Menes'—still oscillating between the 86th and 58th century B. C.—if Menes can indeed be proved ever to have had any real existence."

It is difficult, by a simple statement of dimensions in feet and inches to convey to the general reader, unaccustomed to measure distances with the eye, an adequate idea of the size of objects. A resort to comparison with some known object is therefore more satisfactory; and the recent very interesting work on the East, by our countryman, the Rev. Mr. Spencer, furnishes us with the following:

"For the benefit of Londoners, it has been said that the great pyramid covers the same space as Lincoln's Inn Fields (= about 550,000 square feet), and is more than sixty feet higher than St. Paul's Cathedral, which is sufficiently near to serve for a comparison. You, as a New-Yorker, will, perhaps, be better able to comprehend the vast size and extent of the great pyramid by comparing it with some well-known objects

in our metropolis. Suppose, then, that you are standing by the northwest corner of the Park; you walk down Broadway till you come to the lower side of Park Place; thence across in a straight line, just leaving out the fountain, to Chatham-street, and continuing until you take in the American Bible House, the range of buildings and hotels, &c., near by; thence turning northwardly in a straight line to the corner of Chambers-street and the Park, on Centre-street; and thence to the point of starting—a space of about twelve acres in extent. As you stand here, just think of all this being one solid mass of stone, as a base for a pyramid! all the public buildings, the City Hall, offices, walks, trees, and so on, covered entirely! Next take a look at St. Paul's, with its spire piercing the clouds, and imagine, if you can, that from this vast stony basis, which you see before you, rises aloft a mighty structure, considerably more than twice as high as that neighboring spire."*

As to Memphis, now known as Mitraheny, but little is left. "Large mounds of rubbish, a colossal statue sunk deep in the ground [Remeses II.], and a few fragments of granite, are all that remain," says Dr. Robinson. The reason why Memphis is so utterly destroyed, while the temples at Thebes and elsewhere still stand to invite attention, is not to be found in difference of climate, or other natural causes. The destruction is the work of man. An Arab city was built at Fostat, or Old Cairo; others have been since reared in the same vicinity.

* It is not possible by mere description to convey a correct idea of the interior of the great pyramid. A model must be seen; and an accurate one is open to inspection in the admirable Egyptian collection of Mr. Gliddon, which, with his beautiful panorama of the Nile, furnish, probably, as correct information concerning Egypt as it is possible to obtain without personal observation of the country.

Memphis furnished the materials, else might we now have gazed with as much interest on Memphis as on Karnac or Luxor.

According to the accounts of travellers, much care is necessary in selecting, for a voyage on the river, both the boat and its reis, or commander; and the voyager supplies himself also with food and all other articles necessary to his comfort. Supposing these preliminaries arranged to his satisfaction, and that he is fairly embarked, he proceeds by the aid of the wind, when favorable, and when otherwise his progress is made, as in a canal boat, by towing, or "tracking," the crew being substituted for horses.

The first point of importance that is reached on the upward voyage is the town of Beni S'ouef, on the western bank of the river. This is the capital of a province, and the residence of a bey. It is from this point that the road commences which leads to the Fyoom, as it is called, and to Lake Mœris. The district of the Fyoom is, perhaps, the most fertile in Egypt, and has always been celebrated for its roses. On the west of Lake Mœris, according to Pliny, was the Labyrinth. There are ruinous fragments on that side of the lake; but at this day no vestige of a building. The pyramid of Howara marks the site of the Labyrinth. Very little of this wonder of Egypt is above ground; but Dr. Lepsius, it is said, has recently excavated it, and traced out its plan. Of Lake Mœris, Herodotus furnishes an account, in which he represents it as being entirely executed by the hand of man; and, in proof of it, he states that in the middle of the lake there were in his day two pyramids, each 216 feet above, and as many below, the surface of the water, the apex of each being surmounted with a colossus. Denon ridiculed the idea of an artificial lake, 277 miles in cir-

cumference, and thirty-six fathoms deep. In modern times, however, M. Linant has discovered what he considers genuine traces of the reservoir having been artificial, and that it was made to retain the waters of the Nile, after the fall of an inundation. At Biahmoo, also, he has found some curious ruins, which, it is conjectured, are probably those of the two pyramids mentioned by Herodotus. There is, however, a *natural* lake about thirty-five miles long and seven broad, called Birket el Korn, which has heretofore been regarded as the Lake Mœris. Herodotus tells us there was a chain of Lakes in that region, and this, probably, was one of them.

Leaving Beni S'ouef, the traveller comes next upon Minieh, "decidedly the prettiest looking town upon the Nile," says one of our modern books of travel; but affording nothing to interest the archæologist. The place is about 140 miles distant from Cairo.

Beni-Hassan. This is on the eastern side of the river, and here is much worthy of study; for here are the celebrated tombs which have furnished such abundant and satisfactory illustrations of the domestic manners and employments of the ancient Egyptians. These tombs are situated high on the side of the hills, and can be reached only by a toilsome walk. There is a peculiarity in the architecture of some of these tombs that has been noticed, but, as it is believed, not explained. They are confessedly of high antiquity, and, in their porticoes, approach very near the *Grecian Doric.* In fact, it is difficult to resist the belief that here is the origin of that order of architecture. The interior of one of these tombs has a central avenue supported by Doric columns, with a low carved ceiling, which Sir Gardiner Wilkinson suggests may have been copied from a stone arch. It is from the represen-

tations on the walls of these tombs that many of our illustrations are taken. Bartlett thus describes them:

"The walls having been prepared, and divided by lines into different compartments, were covered with an elaborate series of representations, which set before us in a most lively style, and with surprising distinctness, the domestic manners of that remote period—they are indeed a mine to the antiquary. This is the first time that I had seen this interesting peculiarity of Egyptian antiquities, and I was proportionally astonished and delighted. The colors, considering the antiquity of the tomb, are wonderfully preserved. In the style of execution there is no great display of art, but the variety of the paintings is inexhaustible. They embrace all the processes of agriculture from sowing to harvest, with fowling, fishing, and hunting scenes, some of the latter remarkable for their spirit; the different trades and occupations, and even amusements, dancing, wrestling, playing at draughts and ball, and the mode of administering punishment by the same process as at the present day, namely, the bastinado. Here you see, as on the bank of the Nile at the present day, peasants proceeding to market, bearing their burdens, and driving their cattle before them, while the different craft on the river are depicted with equal attention. They have the appearance of minute and laboriously accurate delineations. It seems as though nothing pertaining to every-day life was forgotten; a lively and sometimes half-ludicrous vein runs through the whole series, which, even to a hasty visitor, rise up with marvellous familiarity and distinctness, while the antiquary is enabled by a careful analysis to fill up a very complete picture of the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians. In the tomb represented, there is on the top of the left-hand wall a procession of figures which

has attracted much attention. The tomb is of the early time of Osirtasen I., with whom Joseph is supposed to have been contemporary, and it has been sometimes imagined that this band of strangers might be the brethren of the patriarch. The group will be gazed on with great interest, though Wilkinson is unable to admit the above supposition, as, though obviously orientals, their number does not agree with that given in the Bible; they are, besides, represented as captives, and the name of the owner of the tomb, who was governor of this part of the country, is also totally different.* Besides the tombs, which so strongly resemble Doric porticoes, there are others which display the early style of Egyptian architecture, formed upon the imitation of the lotus and papyrus, which is carried out more fully in the temples."

The tombs are thirty-one in number, but it is said that not more than six or eight are particularly interesting. Some of them are very spacious, being from thirty to fifty feet in length, from twenty to thirty-five in height, and about twenty-five feet wide. In most, the architecture is strictly Egyptian.

Passing onward from Beni Hassan, before reaching Manfalout, the traveller passes the stupendous precipices on the Arabian side, known as Djebel Abou-fodde. They overhang the boat as it passes, and far up among the clefts are the grottoes and caverns once occupied by the ascetics of Egypt. Here, it is said, Athanasius found a shelter in the vicissitudes which marked his troubled life. Here the voyager is subjected to those sudden gusts of wind, which rushing down through the ravines from the high eastern desert, require all the skill, courage, and experience of Nile boatmen to save the craft.

* A representation of this is on a future page.

Escaping from this dangerous locality, the traveller soon approaches Manfalout.

This is a town which is rapidly declining in importance. It stands on a high bank, or "bluff," as it would be called on our western rivers, against which the current impinges with such force that it has carried away a large portion, and threatens to remove the whole. Still the approach to it furnishes a fine scene. "The western banks (says a traveller) present a rich carpet of the 'bersim' or clover, cotton, hemp, wheat, Indian corn, and sugar-cane: the river is bold, and rolls its waters at the bases of projecting rocks; whilst in other parts, the mountains stretch far away into the depths of the Arabian wilderness, varying in form, and resembling pinnacles, terraces and turrets, picturesque ruins, and extensive forts." Opposite to Manfalout, in the mountains, are the celebrated crocodile mummy cases, of which travellers write.

Gliding by the pretty town of Siout, with its handsome mosques and minarets and pleasant environs, but with no stronger claim to notice than that it is the capital of Upper Egypt; the traveller next reaches Girgeh, a few miles back of which are the ruins of Abydus or This, where was found the tablet represented on our twenty-fifth page. Here are the remains of two temples, partly buried in sand and rubbish. These were built by Osirei, and his son, Rameses the Great.

The temple of Dendera (Tentyris) next invites the traveller's notice. The reader will remember that we have alluded to this on a previous page (48) in connection with the pretended discovery of its extreme age as demonstrated by its zodiac; and it will not be forgotten how quietly the pretended discovery was disposed of by Champollion's reading on the zodiac the name of Augustus Cæsar.

Bartlett thus describes the temple:

"The first opening view entirely disappointed me, nor could I help contrasting the effect of Greek and Roman ruins —of the temples of Athens, and Girgenti, and Baalbec, their ranges of columns and half-ruined porticoes, rising in picturesque disorder against the sky, with the heavy square walls and flat roof of the Egyptian temple, cutting into a background of yellow sand. Nor did a nearer approach altogether remove this unfavorable impression; the façade, though vast, seemed heavy and half barbarous, and inspired none of that mingled awe and delight which I had anticipated. On entering, however, one cannot fail to experience the peculiar emotions produced by Egyptian architecture, a feeling of gloomy sublimity which awes rather than elevates, and which to the ordinary spectator is greatly heightened by the sculptures and hieroglyphics which every where cover the walls, in mute mysterious meaning, leading back our ideas to the recondite religious ideas which they symbolize, and inspiring a deep and almost trembling curiosity as to the rites which were celebrated in the recesses of these soul-subduing temples. The flat roof in its dusky obscurity, and the grand portal of simple and heavy proportion, with the inner chambers receding into utter darkness, add to the effect of this first impression.

"The columns of the portico, of which there are twenty-four, are peculiar; at least there is no other instance of them on this scale. Capitals, whose forms and details are generally borrowed from the lotus and palm, and other plants and flowers, consist here of the head of the goddess Athor, the Venus of the Egyptians, repeated fourfold, with a superincumbent addition which gives a heavy and shapeless character to the entire column. Of the faces scarcely one remains entire,

which very much impairs the effect doubtless intended to be produced by the universal presence of the face, characterized, as Sir F. Henniker remarks, by a 'bewitching half modesty,' which every where beamed upon the intoxicated worshipper of the genial power.

"The great portico, comparatively a very modern specimen of Egyptian art, was added in the reign of Tiberius. 'On its ceiling,' observes Mr. Sharpe, 'is the well-known zodiac, which our antiquaries once thought was of a great antiquity, but the sign of the Scales in the zodiac might alone have taught them that it could not be older than the reign of Augustus, who gave that name to the group of stars which before formed the spreading claws of the scorpion. We cannot but admire the zeal of the Egyptians by whom this work was then finished. They were treated as slaves by their Greek fellow-countrymen; they, the fallen descendants of the conquering kings of Thebes, had every third year their houses ransacked in search of arms: the Romans only drained the province of its wealth, and the temple had perhaps never been heard of by the emperor, who could have been little aware that the most lasting monument of his reign was being raised in the distant province of Egypt. We cannot but admire a people, who, denying themselves all beyond the coarsest food and clothing as luxuries, thought a noble massive temple for the worship of the gods one of the first necessaries of life.'

"Briefly to describe the interior arrangements of the temple, we quote from Wilkinson.

"To the great portico succeeds a hall of six columns with three rooms on either side: then a central chamber, communicating on one side with two small rooms, and on the other with a staircase. This is followed by another similar cham-

ber, (with two rooms on the west and one on the east side,) immediately before the isolated sanctuary, which has a passage leading round it, and communicating with three rooms on either side. The total length of the temple is 93 paces, (or about 220 feet,) by 41, or across the portico 50.

"Advancing through the gloom of the succeeding hall, we prepared to explore these smaller chambers and passages. Oppressed by a close foul odor, and not without apprehension of treading on snakes and scorpions concealed in the loose dust, we lighted our candles and began cautiously to descend; the bats, startled by the glare, roused from their obscure crannies, and madly flitting to and fro, with their slight curdling cry and the whizzing of their filthy wings, threatened to extinguish our lights, and dash their obscene bodies full into our averted faces,—an idea which even now inspires a shudder of disgust. Such was our welcome into these narrow dusky passages, once thronged with the votaries of a voluptuous and debasing superstition. Screening as well as might be our eyes from these attacks, we traced out with our candles the elaborate sculptures with which the walls are every where profusely covered throughout these numerous smaller rooms, all ministering to the impression designed to be produced upon the spectator."

At Keneh, the next place reached, there is nothing to attract, and it is chiefly to be noticed for its gross immorality, and for being opposite to the point on the river from which the traveller diverges to cross over to the Red Sea (Cosseir).

A voyage on the Nile would be imperfect should no mention be made of the crocodile.

"The following particulars are derived from Messrs. Bonomi and Sharpe. 'Crocodiles were formerly found much far-

ther down the river than at present, as the hunting them is represented on the tombs of Memphis; at the present day they are not met with lower than about Siout. They are seen in groups of three or four, basking upon the sunny shoals, and take to the river when startled at the approach of a boat. There is an old story connected with them so curious, that we might well have been justified in doubting its truth, but for the attestations of numerous travellers. It is, that a small bird, called from its cry the 'Sic-sac,' hovers about this ungainly monster, and warns him of the approach of danger by dashing to and fro against his head, and uttering its shrill peculiar note, upon which the crocodile seeks safety under water. This was lately described by the Hon. Mr. Curzon, who himself witnessed it. It is very rarely that they are known to attack any one. In some parts of Egypt the crocodile is worshipped as a god; in others, killed and eaten as a public enemy. Juvenal, who held some military post in the province, found much amusement in satirizing the superstitions of Egypt. But, adds Mr. Sharpe, he sometimes takes a poet's liberty, and when he tells us that man's was the only flesh that they ate without sinning, we are not to believe him to the letter. He gives a lively picture of a fight which he saw between the citizens of the two towns of Ombos and Tentyra, who had a long standing quarrel about their gods. At Ombos they worshipped the crocodile and the crocodile-headed god Savak, while at Tentyra they worshipped the goddess Athor, and were celebrated for their skill in catching and killing crocodiles. So, taking an advantage of a feast or holiday, as the people of Modena and Bologna did in the days of Tassoni, they marched out for a fight. The men of Ombos were beaten and put to flight, but one of them stumbling as he ran away,

was caught and torn to pieces, and, as Juvenal adds, *eaten* by the men of Tentyra.'"

To this Mr. Bartlett adds:

"Crocodiles were also taken and tamed by the ancient Egyptians, who made pets of them, decorating them with ear-rings and bracelets, and pampering them with roast meat and wine. Amid the variety of animals brought from the subjugated provinces to Rome, to be exhibited and destroyed in the amphitheatre, was also, as Strabo informs us, the crocodile, thirty-six being introduced at once for that purpose by Augustus, who were killed by the gladiators, and there is mention also of an artificial lake at Rome in which tame ones were exhibited. In the British Museum is a statue of a man of Dendera performing feats of agility on a crocodile's back. The aperture or pupil of the eye contracts into a narrow perpendicular line, and the Arabs relate that during the season of the inundation, when the water of the Nile is considerably darkened by the quantity of clay held in solution, it is totally blind, confirming in some measure the statement of Herodotus."

We have heard a similar story told at the South of the periodical blindness of the alligator of that region. There was, however, no attempt to assign a cause for it.

And now the voyager comes upon Thebes. The difficulty here is, amid the vast mass of materials, so to select as to convey to the reader a distinct impression of these magnificent ruins. It would occupy more space than we can afford to trace the history of Thebes from its origin, through its day of splendor, down to its period of decay. The traveller who, at this day, stands amid its remains, will feel that "the wide acres of Theban ruins prove alike the greatness of the city, and the force with which it was overthrown."

"The habitations of the city were swept away, but the temples, miles apart, form the nuclei of different scattered hamlets, whose inhabitants till the plain, once covered with the living millions of the ancient city. The Christians under the Greek emperors raised their puny structures amidst the colossal courts of Medeenet Habou, but fled on the conquest of the Arabs, whose degenerate successors make their habitation amidst the tombs of Gornou, and gain a precarious subsistence by rifling their contents, or dragging from their repositories the mummied remains of their tenants.

"But the ruined temples still stand to call forth the wonder of the traveller. They have seen the whole portion of time of which history keeps the reckoning roll before them; they have seen kingdoms and nations rise and fall—the Babylonians, the Jews, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. They have seen the childhood of all that we call ancient, and they still seem likely to stand, to tell their tale to those who will hereafter call us the ancients."

Luxor, Karnac, Medinet Habou—separated now—these were all once Thebes. But let an eye-witness describe the scene.

"On the verge of this region, among the burning sands, stand conspicuous on the left the ruins of the Memnonium, one of the most extensive and elegant of the temples, but hence appearing an indistinct mass of columns and propylæa. To the left, following the edge of the cultivated soil, lies the path to the Assaseef, and some portions of the tombs of which appear. On the left are seen the temple and village of Gornou.

"To the right, the path from the Memnonium conducts to the extensive mounds and ruins of Medeenet Habou, a

world in itself; and behind is the gloomy Birket Habou, or lake of Habou, formerly dedicated to funeral ceremonies, and now seen surrounded by sandy mounds. In this direction, the city on this side, called the Libyan suburb, probably terminated. Conspicuous in the centre of the view, on the cultivated ground between the Memnonium and Medeenet Habou, stands, in lonely, isolated grandeur, the colossal statue of the Vocal Memnon, and its more distant fellow; the earth has risen about their base and covered the fallen fragments of that avenue of sphinxes and buildings with which they stood connected. Beyond these, on the other side of the broad solitary river, appears, at a prominent point, the village and temple of Luxor; and to the left of this, at the distance of more than a mile, are the groups of propylæa, walls, and columns of Karnak, whose wonderful extent and colossal character are reduced by distance to a confused, undistinguishable mass. It was around and *far beyond* this central ruin, the heart of old Thebes, the perished city extended eastward towards the Arabian mountains."

To attempt a minute description of these widespread ruins would be idle. The utmost that can be done is to glance at some of the more prominent features, and we begin with the tombs of the kings. These are in the rear of Thebes, and are approached through a desolate ravine. This ravine gradually narrowing, is at length terminated by a range of gloomy perpendicular precipices, at the foot of which may be seen certain dark apertures, like entrances to caverns. These are the openings to the tombs. A flight of steps leads down into the principal tomb, and sculptures, barely discernible, line the walls of this passage. Candles are then lighted, and the explorer enters what is known as the "Hall of Beauty." It was

Belzoni who discovered this. A wall once terminated the passage to the spot; but he, suspecting that something was beyond, broke through the wall and found the splendid chambers within. The walls are covered with group after group of figures, the colors of which still look fresh, and the execution of which is most elaborate. Room succeeds to room, showing that the solid rock has been cut out to the depth of 320 feet, and the walls throughout are covered. Most of the representations relate to the mythology of the ancient Egyptians, and much yet remains to be deciphered. In the neighboring tomb, called after Bruce, the solid rock has been penetrated to the depth of 405 feet. In this, the representations refer more to the affairs of ordinary life, and it is therefore more interesting to the common observer. Various articles of furniture, implements of husbandry, and usages of every-day life are here presented with astonishing freshness, when we consider that the representations cannot be less than two thousand years old.

But not the least interesting of these tombs is the private one of Rascherè, which Wilkinson designates by the number 35. It is in this, that the deeply interesting representation of the brick-makers occurs, irresistibly carrying the mind back to the story of Israelitish bondage and Egyptian oppression. But of this picture, delineated on a future page, we shall have occasion hereafter to speak more particularly.

Medinet Habou. Here the principal building is the colossal temple and palace of Rameses III. The sculptures on the walls here have been minutely described by Wilkinson, and are chiefly representations of Rameses, either engaged in religious ceremonies, or triumphing in battle. Antiquarians have here found some of their best materials. The external walls

present a sculptured view of the incidents of a campaign with some oriental enemy, wherein (as is usual) every delineation is designed to glorify Egypt. Within the walls of these vast ruins is, or was, a Christian temple, of Grecian architecture: but evidence here afforded to the truth of the Old Testament, is more interesting than aught else to be seen. Here is Rameses smiting (as the inscriptions show) the Hittites; a priest is recording the number of captives, a scribe is counting the human hands that fall at the feet of the king; and other inscriptions inform us, as does also Manetho, that he drove the vanquished to Syria.

The "Vocal Memnon." This colossal statue and its companion, standing in solemn grandeur in the midst of the lonely waste, are represented as more weather-beaten and scarred by the hand of time, than any other of the ruins of Thebes. "Their lineaments," says Bartlett, "are half effaced, and their gigantic limbs fractured and blackened." The magnitude of these statues is extraordinary. According to Mr. Spencer, "the height of either colossus is 47 feet, or 53 above the plain, with the pedestal, which, now buried from 6 ft. 10 in. to 7 feet below the surface, completes to its base a total of 60 feet. They measure about 18 ft. 3 in. across the shoulders; 16 ft. 6 in. from the top of the shoulder to the elbow; 10 ft. 6 in. from the top of the head to the shoulder; 17 ft. 9 in. from the elbow to the finger's end; and 19 ft. 8 in. from the knee to the plant of the foot. The thrones are ornamented with figures of the god Nilus, who, holding the stalks of two plants peculiar to the river, is engaged in building up a pedestal or table, surmounted by the name of the Egyptian monarch—a symbolic group, indicating his dominion over the upper and lower countries. A line of hieroglyphics extends perpendicularly down the

back, from the shoulder to the pedestal, containing the name of the Pharaoh they represent." Wilkinson informs us that the stone from which they are cut is not found within many miles of the spot where they stand.

Ancient tradition relates, that when the sun rose above the mountains of Arabia, and touched with light the lips of the "Vocal Memnon," it uttered responsive sounds. Some have thought the sounds were accidental, and proceeding from natural causes, were similar to those which sometimes, in certain states of the atmosphere and directions of the winds, issue from among hollow rocks. The better opinion, however, attributes them to the jugglery of priestcraft. These statues were not originally isolated as they now are, but stood in advance of a large temple, with which they were connected by a long avenue of other statues that led in one direction to the river, and thence, as Wilkinson supposes, communicated with Luxor on the other side of the river, by means of a ferry, thus forming one of the crowded thoroughfares of ancient Thebes.

Now, crossing the river, we come to Luxor. Splendid as it must once have been, this temple is now so disguised and disfigured by miserable mud huts and paltry buildings, that it is, perhaps, the least interesting of the ruins at Thebes. The edifice was immense, and there still remains the grand entrance, as represented in the drawing with which we have enriched our pages. There was once here another obelisk. It now stands in the Place de la Concorde, at Paris. The red granite, however, of which it is composed, long as it has withstood the climate of Egypt, is yielding to the corrosive atmosphere of France.

Proceeding from Luxor, an avenue, lined with a double row of sphinxes, and about a mile in length, formerly led

toward Karnac. Of this avenue few traces now remain. Following its course, however, the explorer reaches at last a spot from which he gets the first view of Karnac, the most striking feature of Thebes. A minute description of it is here impossible, for a perfect wilderness of temples, courts, propylæa, gateways, and obelisks, is all around. We subjoin the account which Bartlett gives of his visit to the Great Hall:

"We had spent so much time in the examination of Luxor, and of the other portions of Karnak, that the evening was advanced when we arrived at the Great Hall. The shadows were creeping solemnly through the intricate recesses of its forest of columns, but the red light rested for a while upon their beautiful flower-shaped capitals, the paintings upon which, scarred and worn as they are by the accidents of 3,000 years, still display, under a strong light, much of their original vividness. It is a perfect wilderness of ruin, almost outrunning the wildest imagination or the most fantastic dream. We paced slowly down the central avenue. The bases of the columns are buried among the fallen fragments of the roof and a mass of superincumbent earth; from his hiding-place amidst which the jackal began to steal forth, and wake the echoes of the ruins with his blood-curdling shriek; whilst the shadowy bat flitted, spirit-like, from dusky pillar to pillar. From the centre of the hall, whichever way we looked through the deepening gloom, there seemed no end to the labyrinthine ruins. Obelisks and columns, some erect in their pristine beauty, others fallen across, and hurled together in hideous confusion, forming wild arcades of ruin; enormous masses of prostrate walls and propylæa, seemed to have required either to construct or to destroy them the power of a fabled race of giants. Pillars, obelisks and walls, of this immense hall, were covered with

the forms of monarchs who reigned, and of the gods who were once worshipped within it. Involuntarily the mind goes back, in gazing on them, to the period of its original splendor, when Rameses in triumph returned from his oriental conquests,—pictures the pile in all its completeness, the hall of a hundred and thirty columns with its superb roof, glittering in all the vivid beauty of its paintings, thronged with monarchs, and priests, and worshippers, and devoted to splendid and gorgeous ceremonies."

Wilkinson furnishes the following dimensions of this splendid hall:

"It measures 170 feet by 329, supported by a central avenue of twelve massive columns, 66 feet high (without the pedestal and abacus) and 12 in diameter, besides a hundred and twenty-two of smaller, or rather less gigantic dimensions, 41 feet 9 inches in height, and 27 feet 6 inches in circumference, distributed in seven lines on either side of the former. The twelve central columns were originally fourteen, but the two northernmost have been inclosed within the front towers or propylæa, apparently in the time of Osieri himself, the founder of the hall."

The reader may form some faint idea of the appearance of this hall from our frontispiece.

"The imagination is, no doubt, bewildered in following these numerous details, and yet much is left undescribed and even unnoticed, and the eye, even of the visitor, more than satisfied with seeing, will return to the prominent objects, those alone of which he can expect to retain a vivid recollection. The Great Hall will attract his attention above every thing else. Besides the grandeur of its proportions, he will be struck with the elaborate manner in which every part was sculptured and

painted, with representations of the worship of the chief deity of Thebes, which, emblematic as they might be to the learned, to the common people must have had a highly debasing and sensualizing tendency. Perhaps the finest historical sculptures at Thebes are to be found on the eastern external wall of the Great Hall. Here the genius of Egyptian sculpture appears to have reached its height, and to approach the high character of Grecian art, and we admire no less the fertility of invention, masterly execution, and expression which animates the several groups, than we follow out with interest all the incidents of the different wars and triumphs of the Egyptian monarchs, so vividly represented, the scene of which Wilkinson supposes to have been in Asia, as the names of 'Canana' and 'Lemanon' are deciphered among the list of places."

Breaking away from Thebes, with its manifold objects of interest, to which Wilkinson has devoted a volume, the traveller sails up the river to Esneh, the next point of attraction. This place is the headquarters of the banished dancing girls, mentioned by all travellers. But here we will quote from Mr. Spencer:

"Esneh has become the place of exile of the dancing girls, or Ghawázy, who formerly were permitted to exhibit their indecencies in Cairo, and have been spoken of by several travellers, in years that are gone by, as one of the many strange sights to be seen in Egypt. At Esneh these prostitutes carry on a regular business, and hire themselves for the day or evening to any whose tastes are prurient enough to wish to behold their obscene exhibitions. It ought certainly to be a matter of deep regret, that there are any to be found at this day, who deem themselves justified in attending a dance of this charac-

ter; for my part, I have never been able to understand why filthy songs, licentious dances, and the most disgusting immodesty should be encouraged by gentlemen, and those wearing the Christian name, because these things take place in Egypt, rather than at home; nor further, am I able to comprehend, why what is wrong in itself should not be discountenanced wherever it exists; or why a man's morals and principles should not be held as sacred and as binding in the east as in the west. If I could so far have forgotten what was due to the virtuous female, as to have gone to see these Ghawázy, I should not have dared to pollute these pages with any accounts of scenes which are only equalled by some of the outrages upon morality in certain portions of Paris. That it may not be supposed that my language is stronger than the occasion warrants, I beg to use the words of Mr. Lane, than whom it would be impossible to find a higher authority: 'The Ghawázee often perform in the court of a house, or in the street before the door, on certain occasions of festivity in the hareem; as, for instance, on the occasion of a marriage, or the birth of a child. They are never admitted into a respectable hareem; but are not unfrequently hired to entertain a party of men in the house of some rake. In this case, as might be expected, their performances are yet more lascivious than those which I have already mentioned. Some of them, when they exhibit before a private party of men, wear nothing but the shintiyan (or trowsers), and a tob (or a very full shirt or gown) of semi-transparent colored gauze, open nearly half way down the front. To extinguish the least spark of modesty, which they may yet sometimes affect to retain, they are plentifully supplied with brandy, or some other intoxicating liquor. The scenes which ensue cannot be described. I need scarcely

add that these women are the most abandoned of the courtezans of Egypt.' Sir G. Wilkinson uses language equally strong, and characterized by indignation and warmth."

There is a temple here, the inside of which was cleared out by Mohamed Ali, and the portico of which is probably the best specimen of the Ptolemaic style in Egypt. Beyond this portico there is but little to attract the voyager. Not so, however, with Edfou, to which the traveller next comes. It is thus described by a recent visitor.

"It stands on rising ground not far from the Nile, and as the external wall with which it is surrounded is entire, gives us a complete idea of the vast size and massive grandeur of an Egytian temple in its state of completeness, serving no less as a fortress and a palace for the sacerdotal caste, than as a place for the solemn rites of religion. We advanced through a wretched village of mud hovels swarming with ragged Fellahs, and beset by naked children, who raised a shrill demand of "beckshish howaga," accompanied by the barking of a host of dogs, who, roused by our arrival from dozing in the sun upon heaps of festering filth, joined the discordant chorus. Thus escorted we reached the magnificent propylon, covered with gigantic forms of mythological and regal personages, who seemed to look down impassive and contemptuous upon the din and dust raised by the degenerate tenants of their beloved and once glorious land. Spite of the sticks of dragoman and boatmen, some of the more active contrived to glide in with us, unperceived, to the interior, while others, climbing like monkeys to the top of the corridors, pursued us with their impish antics and importunate clamor, till, their position being stormed, they were driven down with kicks and blows into the area below, raising in their escape whole clouds of suffo-

cating dust. Meanwhile, passing between the solemn gateway towers, which are entirely perfect, we entered the first court, which is also entire, with its surrounding corridor supported by ranges of light Ptolemaic pillars, the flat roof of which served equally as a promenade or vantage-ground of defence. At the extremity of this court, and forming the vestibule of the temple itself, is a magnificent corridor, now almost filled with accumulated earth, but with the beautiful capitals still entire, and bright with azure and green as when first from the painter's hand."

We next come upon the grand ruins of Koom-Ombos, nearly ingulfed in the sand. The chief object here is the great temple of *Sevek-ra*, the Egyptian Saturn. The annexed view will convey to the reader a better idea of it than would any detail of description.

E'Souan (the ancient Syene), Elephantine, the beautiful island of Philæ, and the cataracts, terminate the voyage in Egypt proper. These last, as eye-witnesses state, present a scene less striking than that afforded by the rapids above the falls of Niagara; but Philæ will, for its surpassing beauty, long rivet the eye of the spectator. "Philæ itself," thus writes Bartlett, "was a spot of peculiar sanctity as one of the fabled burial places of Osiris."

"'So holy was the place,' says Wilkinson, 'that no one was permitted to visit it without express permission; and it was fancied that no bird would fly over, nor fish swim near this consecrated ground. Osiris, in his mysterious character, was the greatest of the Egyptian deities, but little is known of those undivulged secrets which the ancients took so much care to conceal. So cautious indeed were the initiated, that they made a scruple even of mentioning him, and Herodotus,

whenever he relates any thing concerning this deity, excuses himself from uttering his name. His principal office as an Egyptian deity was to judge the dead, and to rule over that kingdom where the souls of good men were admitted to eternal felicity. Seated on his throne, accompanied by Isis and Nephys, with the four genii of Amenti, who stand on a lotus growing from the waters in the centre of the divine abode, he receives an account of the actions of the deceased,' which are weighed in the scales of truth. But it is in his mysterious character, as the manifestation of the Divinity on earth, as an impersonation of *his goodness*, that his peculiar sanctity appears to have consisted. He appeared on earth to benefit mankind, and after having performed the duties he had come to fulfil, and falling a sacrifice to Typho, the evil principle, who was at length overcome by his influence, after his leaving the world he rose again to a new life, and became the judge of mankind in a future state. The dead also, after having passed their final ordeal and been absolved from sin, obtained in his name, which they then took, the blessings of eternal felicity. This very remarkable analogy to the office sustained by our Saviour, may induce some to think,' says Wilkinson, 'that the Egyptians, being aware of the promises of his coming, had anticipated the event, and introduced that mystery into their religious system.' Whether this was the case, or whether these ideas rather arose spontaneously in the Egyptian mind, must remain uncertain, but the functions thus ascribed to Osiris may well explain the peculiar and distinguishing reverence in which his fabled burial-place was held.* His sepulchre, says Diodorus, is revered by all the priests throughout Egypt, and three hundred and sixty cups are filled

* See more fully on this subject Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, 2d Series, vol. i.

daily with milk by priests expressly appointed for this purpose, who, calling on the names of the gods, utter a solemn lamentation, wherefore the island can only be approached by the priests; and the most solemn oath taken by the inhabitants of the Thebaid, is to swear by Osiris who lies buried in Philæ.

"Associated with Osiris was Isis; she attended upon him as judge of the dead, in which character she was regarded as the greatest of the Egyptian goddesses. Osiris, Isis, and their son Horus, formed the triad worshipped at Philæ. Isis was said to be the protector of her brother, and his royal consort or sister. In this quality she answered in the regions of the dead to Proserpine, the wife of Pluto, among the Greeks. Isis was metaphorically considered to be the earth, or feminine part of nature, or matter, in reference to the creative action of Deity. Horus, answering to the Greek Apollo, was the avenger of his father, Osiris, after his being put to death by Typhon, whom he is represented as overcoming in the form of a snake. The same idea also existed in the Greek, Scandinavian, and Indian mythology, and, like the story of Osiris, may have been derived, as Wilkinson suggests, from Bible tradition, or from some common conception of oriental origin, to shadow forth the apparent struggle between the good and evil principles which has so often perplexed philosophy to explain."

"The views from every part of the island are exquisitely beautiful, but none surpasses that obtained from the end of the ruined gallery, extending from the great propylon to the extreme point. This corridor, resting on the wall which surrounded the island, to protect it from the current, is a happy and graceful specimen of the lighter Egyptian architecture; the four sides of the capitals present the smiling features of Isis. Attached to its extremity is a small obelisk directly

overlooking the river, of which a broad, dreamy, lake-like reach comes down from the south, bordered by high mountains, and fringed with a border of palm groves. Sweeping around the dark, fantastic, up-piled rocks of Bigge, the current breaks against this end of the island, and, peeping over the perpendicular wall which breaks its force, we look down directly into its rapid waters, as they hurry away on their impetuous course towards the cataracts."

We cannot do better than close our chapter of a voyage on the Nile with the description of Philæ, given by one of the latest visitors to it from our own country, the Rev. Mr. Spencer:

"On landing, we clambered up a rather steep and high bank, which brought us to the level of the ruined temples, and certainly presented before our eyes a most novel scene; for the whole island is devoted to the vast erections which have here been made; and not a living creature, or a sign of life, can any where be seen. All the glory of Philæ has passed away for ever, and its hundreds of priests and priestly attendants, and its crowds of worshippers, from the kings and nobles down to the peasant and the slave, are gone, and the place which once was theirs knows them now no more. Ourselves were the only persons on the island, and we wandered through the ruins, and looked upon the deserted halls and sanctuaries of pagan idolatry, alone and unattended, save by one or two little boys, who had swum across the channel on a log of wood, to salute us with the ever-ready cry of *bakhshish!* We entered the ruins at the northerly end, and before looking at any objects in detail, gave a cursory glance at the whole. The principal building is the temple of the moon-crowned Isis, the rooms of which we explored as well as we could; we mounted

the stone staircase, which led to the top of the temple, or second story, as I may call it. Here we looked into a chamber with a narrow portal, and beheld a number of hieroglyphics and sculptured figures, which, according to Wilkinson, relate to the death and resurrection of Osiris, that deity of whom the Egyptian stood in such awe, as to lower his voice and drop his eyes, when he uttered the fearful adjuration, 'By him that sleeps in Philæ!' This interesting chamber is nearly over the western adytum, and is about fifteen feet long, by nine wide and eight high. Here, too, we had a fine view of the island itself and the surrounding scenery; one object in particular attracted our attention: it was a large stone or rock on the edge of the water, opposite the northerly end of Philæ; it looms up very remarkably, and presents a form not unlike a vast altar or shrine; possibly it may have been used for some religious purposes, though that is denied by the best authorities. To the west we saw the island of Biggeh, a wild and desolate spot, where are some few remains of early days, and one or two mud huts built in their midst; and to the south and west we gazed upon the extent of the buildings here spread out, the narrow channels of the Nile, which flow on either side of this lovely island, and the arid and parched up plains and hills of Nubia stretching away in the distance. Passing through the portal of the first propylon, we emerged into a large open court, with a fine corridor on either hand, and where, near the commencement of the eastern corridor, as well as I could make out, is the small chapel of Æsculapius. The sculptures on the propyla are colossal, and though in great measure defaced by the hand of violence, still evince the skill of the artist, and the taste and habits of the age. In the next passage-way, through the second propylon, we read the famous

inscription which the army of Napoleon caused to be placed here, and which has not escaped disfigurement; and on emerging into the open space beyond, found ourselves in a position of much interest: we were standing before the Great Temple, in all its imposing grandeur; while to the south, for a very long distance, was a continued line of columns, more or less broken, on both sides of the area, terminating in what Irby and Mangles call 'a large pylon formed by two moles:' here a lofty obelisk stands, and marks the extreme southerly end of the island. Formerly there were two obelisks, one on each side, at the close of the long colonnade; but at present only one remains, the other having been removed to England by Mr. Banks, many years ago."

CHAPTER VI.

Remarks on testimony.—Application of them to the evidence afforded by the monuments.—Facts related in Abraham's history tested by Egyptian remains.

When a number of well-authenticated contemporaneous facts are brought into juxtaposition; and when thus combined, they show, that except in a certain contingency, their simultaneous existence was not possible; that contingency is as clearly proved as are the well-authenticated facts that thus constitute what is called circumstantial evidence. "Circumstances," it has been said, "cannot lie:" this is true; but those who relate the circumstances may; hence it is all-important that the facts which constitute the circumstances should be verified beyond all reasonable question; when thus verified, the inevitable deductions from them are entitled to just as much confidence as if they were proved by direct testimony.

Again, it often happens that most important testimony is purely incidental. The facts or circumstances that furnish the incidents, have seemingly no direct connection with the point to be proved. They are brought forward with reference to another and totally different point, when their coincidence with the alleged fact under investigation is, for the first time, unexpectedly developed. Such testimony has the advantage of being unsuspected, for it could not have been manufactured

for the occasion: undesigned coincidences, therefore, (particularly when found in documents having no connection with, or reference to, the same principal subject,) are never to be slighted in weighing testimony.

These are important considerations to be borne in mind upon the very threshold of the investigation on which we are about to enter. What, for instance, are the facts? We are in possession of a very ancient documentary history, the Bible, the truth of which is established satisfactorily to our minds by distinct and independent testimony, directly applicable to the question of its truth or falsehood. Almost within the present generation, the interesting discovery has been made of the mode of interpreting the characters, long illegible, delineated on the monuments and in the writings of an ancient country, a *part* of whose history is found incidentally written in our Bible, because it was connected with the progress of another people, of whom our book *professedly* gives the history. Now it is very obvious, that if these modern discoveries bring to light historical events which synchronize with the relation of them given in our book; or if they illustrate, in hundreds of particulars, national usages, or manners, or arts, all of which are found to harmonize with what our document casually illustrates of customs, &c., among the ancient people to whom it incidentally refers; then cumulative testimony is afforded thereby to the truth of our document, so far, at least, as our book and the monuments professedly speak of the same thing.

It is true, indeed, that the Bible does not actually *need* this cumulative testimony to its authenticity. Every subject of investigation must primarily be examined by the species of testimony applicable to the proof of its truth; and of this suitable proof, we apprehend there is quite enough to sustain

the Bible. It is not, therefore, because there is a deficiency of evidence that investigations like the present have been made: they have been called for, rather, by the bold assertions of those who have proclaimed their discovery in the monuments, of evidence directly contradicting the truth of the Bible. It is not pretended by them, that some of the facts and circumstances mentioned in the Old Testament are not confirmed by the monuments; but their objection is founded chiefly on the *chronology* of the book: they affirm an existence and occupancy of Egypt by man, many thousands of years anterior to the supposed date of the creation of man. It is no part of our purpose in *this* work, (as we have already said,) to enter into the examination of their supposed chronology. We would, however, here simply say, that, even on their own grounds, it is, in the judgment of men as learned as themselves, beset with insuperable difficulties; and is so far from having reached the certainty of *proof*, that great differences of opinion exist among themselves, on the subject. Beside, even supposing the commonly received chronology of the Pentateuch, or that of the Septuagint, to be erroneous, (which, as to the latter, we are very far from conceding,) it would be difficult to perceive how this disproves the existence of a *fact* distinctly recorded, in its historical statements; such as the exode of the Israelites, for instance. *That* may have occurred, though the precise time of its occurrence be inaccurately stated. It does not affect the respect due to the book as an inspired volume of *fact* or *doctrine*, to consider its *general chronology* an open question: that it has been so considered and treated by some of the most pious and learned men, is a fact well known to the Biblical student. When *time* is not of the essence of a fact recorded, it is unimportant. There are few, even of modern histories,

that harmonize in *dates;* yet no one doubts the facts they state.

In this case, as in the kindred one of geological science, it would seem that the simple purpose for which the book was written has been overlooked. The Bible was never intended to be a system of chronology, nor a treatise on geology. Its chief purpose (we speak now of the Pentateuch, the part more immediately before us) was, first, to communicate the great truth of one only God, the Creator, thus giving a death-blow to idolatry; and secondly, to preserve the leading facts connected with the origin and progress of a nation, designed by God to preserve, in the midst of error and corruption, certain religious truths important to man to know. If matters connected with science be mentioned or alluded to, the occurrence is incidental; and though what is said is true, it does not necessarily embody *all* truth on that subject, nor profess so to do. These remarks are not made as an apology for the Bible, in its supposed disagreement with the discoveries of science: we say *supposed* disagreement; for we are free to confess that there is not, in our view, one syllable in the Bible contradicted by the discoveries of the geologist, however ancient he may make the oldest strata; nor have we any belief in the assumption that a chronology derived (as it is pretended) from monumental evidence in Egypt, proves the falsehood of the ancient and only authentic history of man, contained in our Bible.

But may it not with truth be said, that the Bible has not been treated with fairness by those who would find, in the monuments, its refutation? By common consent they seem to have rejected its aid, though it is the only written record in existence professing to be *contemporary* with some of the events sculptured on the monuments: they have turned away

from it, to rely upon the classical authorities, the oldest of which dates at least 1000 years *after* the temples on which the sculptures occur. Now, that a record of the same fact is sometimes preserved both in the Bible and on the monuments, is undeniable; should not this coincidence have at least begotten the suspicion that possibly, as a mere history, illustrative of the monuments, the Bible was actually the best help to be had? Indeed, had it been presented to the world as a mere history of human events, without any other claim to acceptance than that which belongs to Herodotus, for instance; had it not professed to fulfil the higher object of being a guide from God, authoritatively addressed to man; who can doubt that many a modern archæologist would have gladly availed himself of its aid, and trumpeted forth the accuracy of his hieroglyphical interpretations as proved by the wonderful confirmation they received from that veritable historian, Moses? Very sure it is, that, as yet, the perfect certainty in some instances of correct hieroglyphical interpretation can be proved only by referring to the narratives of the Bible. The book is not indebted to the monuments for confirmation of its truth, as much as the monuments are to it, for proof of their correct interpretation. It would seem, too, that there has been an error even on the part of some of the friends of revelation, in presenting the coincidences between the Bible and the monuments, as exhibited in the *pictures* merely, while the *inscriptions* that accompany them, and, in truth, form their explanation, have been neglected.

Entering upon a comparison of the Bible with Egyptian monuments, these preliminary remarks may not be without use, as indicating, in some degree, what we may expect to find. Whoever supposes that he will meet with a continuous sculp-

tured history of Egypt, or even of that part of her history to which the Bible refers, will find disappointment. The memorials that we now see were not designed by those who made them to present any such history; they are the records of single events, most commonly conquests and triumphs in war, and were erected by pride to perpetuate the atrocities of bloodthirsty ambition: they never tell a story of Egyptian humiliation. No success over Egypt, no national misfortune or disgrace ever called forth the labor of her teeming population, or employed the skill of her artists. If, therefore, we find aught to repay the toil of research, it must be gathered, here and there, in isolated facts: grouping them all together they form a mass of testimony, the more valuable from being incidental; and interesting as tending, if not to confirm, yet to shed light on many portions of that book, the truth of which is, by other and independent testimony, already, to our minds, satisfactorily established.

Egypt was formerly divided into three great provinces. The most southern part, or Upper Egypt, was known as the Thebaid, and is that portion of the great valley of the Nile, in which was situated one of the great capitals of the whole empire, the city of Thebes. The grandeur and extent of this once great city are attested by the colossal ruins which still remain to mark its site, now occupied in part by the modern towns and villages of Luxor, Karnac, and other places of inferior note.

Middle Egypt, as it was called, lies immediately on the north of the Thebaid; and was anciently known as the Hepta-

nomis, from the fact that it was divided into seven nomes or districts.

Lower Egypt comprised all the northern portion from the Heptanomis to the Mediterranean. The great capital here was Memphis. Its site is now covered with a growth of date palms; while the great Sphinx, the pyramids of Ghizeh, and the rock tombs, are almost the sole monuments of its former splendor.

The geographical feature, however, which, in our present work, is most interesting to us, is in the fact of the contiguity of Egypt to Canaan. The countries were separated by that part of Arabia Petræa which extends to the shores of the Mediterranean. Relations of a political and commercial kind existed between Egypt and Canaan at a very early period, and we learn as much from the Greek historians: but a more authentic testimony to the same fact is to be found in the history contained in the Bible. The oriental name of Egypt, according to the Scriptures, was *Mizraim*. Mizraim and Canaan were two of the sons of Ham [GEN. x. 6]. It seems to be generally conceded that Egypt, as well as the neighboring regions, was peopled by some of the descendants of Ham; and we know that it was Canaan who gave his name to the country that was colonized by his family. Nothing, therefore, was more natural than that an intercourse should exist between these descendants of a common stock. We have the history in the Scriptures of such intercourse; and we now enter upon the direct inquiry, how far the statements of our history derive incidental confirmation from facts concerning Egypt, gathered from other sources.

ABRAHAM.

It is with this individual that the history of the Hebrews begins, and it is his Scripture biography that first brings us into contact with Egyptian usages. For our present purpose it is not necessary that we should follow out his life in all its details. Certain acts of it only, bring Egypt into view, and it is with these alone that we are now concerned. Leaving Ur of the Chaldees, (now Urfah, as it is supposed,) the place of his nativity, we find him at length in the land of Canaan, a pastoral chief, leading his flocks and herds to fresh pasture grounds, as necessity might require. At length a famine arises in Canaan, and Abraham, who was then in the southern part of that country, heard that there was corn in Egypt, and determined to proceed thither with his family. Beside his wife Sarai, his household consisted then of his servants only, for at that time, he was childless. When he reached the borders of Egypt, he had an opportunity of comparing the personal appearance of his wife with that of the females of Egypt, and found the complexion of the one much fairer than that of the others. Abraham was apprehensive that the personal appearance of his wife might render her an object of attraction to the monarch of Egypt, (who was known by the general term, Pharaoh;) and was thereby induced to represent her as his sister; and it appears that his fears were not unfounded. "The princes of Pharaoh" saw the handsome stranger, and their reports of her beauty soon reached the ears of the king. He took the woman into his house, and made valuable presents to her husband; they are particularly enumerated; "sheep and oxen, and he-asses, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and she-asses and camels." Pharaoh presently discovered that

Sarah was Abraham's *wife*, and not his sister, as he had supposed, and therefore desired Abraham to take her and go his way. Abraham accordingly left Egypt, taking with him his wife and all that he had, and is represented as having been very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold.

These are substantially the incidents of the story, as it stands recorded in the latter part of the twelfth chapter of Genesis. And here, our first business is to cull from this narrative, the *facts* expressed or implied in it. They appear to be these:

1. *Egypt was then a powerful nation, rich and civilized.*
2. *Lower Egypt was then dry.*
3. *Its kings were known by the name of Pharaoh.*
4. *Domestic servitude then existed there.*
5. *There was famine in Canaan and abundance in Egypt.*
6. *Sarah was fair, and used no covering or veil over her face.*
7. *Pharaoh wished to place her in his harem.*
8. *There was no dislike of Abraham's pastoral occupation then manifested.*
9. *His gifts were sheep, oxen, he and she-asses, men and maid-servants, camels, gold and silver.*
10. *Abraham accepted these gifts.*

Our next inquiry is this: Are these facts illustrated or incidentally confirmed by any evidence we possess relating to Egypt?

1. *Egypt was then a powerful nation, rich and civilized.*

A certain class of "Egyptologists" is not disposed to contradict this. In fact they claim that many thousands of years

before Abraham, Egypt was a populous and highly cultivated country. The scope of their argument is that the monuments sustain their view of a chronology, that carries them back to a period of time very much earlier than the days of Abraham; and they thence *infer* that it must have taken many thousands of years for a people to grow up from a state of barbarism, into the "high civilization" that must have existed at the time of the earliest monuments. They thus build upon an *inference* founded on an *assumption*. The assumption is that they find, in Egyptian antiquities, a support for their chronology; a point which they certainly cannot *prove* by any thing yet discovered; and they thence deduce an inference founded, as it seems to us, on an error. For, by what authority, we ask, are they sustained in the position, that the career of early nations *commenced in barbarism?* How will they establish the fact that the earliest races of men were *savages?* From the testimony of the oldest authentic history of man, a different conclusion seems inevitable. Take the only history we have of the antediluvian period, and what trace do we find in it of savage life? Not one. Does not this fact, then, rather indicate that savageism was a degeneracy, in some portion of the human family, from an original condition of civilization existing in some greater or less degree? There is nothing in what we know of man's history and progress to justify the opinion, that in early times he proceeded from a savage to a civilized state; but, on the contrary, much to confirm the belief, that from civilization he degenerated into barbarism.

Be this, however, as it may, it is still true that Egypt had long been occupied by civilized men, before Abraham saw it. It is by no means improbable that his eye rested on some of the monuments of Lower Egypt, on which we may now look.

Its condition as a country, subsisting under a well established form of government, is an important fact, as we shall see, in our further progress; and the monuments, without carrying us back into a past, too remote for reasonable belief, do still indicate the existence of all those arts of civilization and government, which mark a social existence, extending backward for at least several ages, and certainly, to a time long before the days of Abraham. There are architectural remains in Egypt that have outlived the touch of time's hand for more than thirty centuries. These conclusively show that the country possessed its palaces, propyla, tombs, and temples, at the time when the children of Israel, under the successors of Joshua, were contending with the Canaanites for the possession of the promised land; or even yet earlier, when the children of Israel were slaves in Egypt. But, we may go back further still, and find abundant evidence that no small degree of political freedom, as well as a long-continued civilization, must have existed among the Egyptians long before Abraham's day. And with this, the story now before us, as well as all others in the Bible relating to Egypt, will be found to harmonize.

2. *Lower Egypt was then dry.*

It is not necessary here to enter minutely into a geological discussion; or to attempt a scientific solution of the question, 'How long a time must it have required to form the Delta of the Nile?'* All that concerns us at present is the fact, that in

* The whole subject of the formation of Deltas, is one requiring more facts than geology has yet accumulated, to enable scientific men to speak with absolute certainty. Other causes than that of the gradual deposit of soil, washed down by the river, are to be examined. Thus, as it respects the Delta of the Mississippi,

Abraham's day, Lower Egypt was dry, and habitable. Facts, now existing in Egypt, would seem to show that there had been ample time for the production of such a result. The *soil* of Egypt was, doubtless, originally formed in great part, by the earth brought down by the river, from Abyssinia and the interior of Africa, and deposited during the periodical annual inundations. From the same cause, in the progress of years, it has been gradually elevated. There are towns and buildings which we know, from history, to have been originally built on mounds above the reach of ordinary inundations, that are now so much below the level of the river, that they are regularly overflowed; for it must not be forgotten that the rise in the bed of the river keeps pace with the extent of every fresh deposit on the adjacent land.

Thus, the ancient Nilometer at Elephantine, mentioned by Strabo, is still in existence. The highest measure marked on it is twenty-four cubits. At this day, the water, in its greatest elevation, rises *eight feet above that mark;* while an inscription on the wall, made in the third century of our era, shows that the water then rose but *one foot* above the twenty-four cubit, or high water mark. Here, then, is a difference of elevation of *seven feet* in about sixteen hundred years: *i. e.* of five and a quarter inches in a century; and there is independent testimony to show, that in the circumjacent soil, the

for instance, it is an undoubted fact, that new land successively rises and disappears at the mouths of the river, from upheavals and depressions, occasioned by subterraneous agencies. When, in 1811, New Madrid, on the Mississippi, was destroyed, and the city of Caraccas was simultaneously overthrown by the same convulsion, the effects and agitation about the mouths of the Mississippi, it is said, were such as to indicate that the locality was in the line of communication by which the mighty subterraneous agent reached from New Madrid to Caraccas.

rise has been in about the same proportion. There are isolated spots where, from local causes, the rise of the soil may be more or less than this, but these are occasional irregularities, not affecting the general result. Of course, as in all long rivers that form Deltas, the strata of deposit will diminish in thickness as the river approaches the sea; thus, Sir Gardner Wilkinson tells us, that "at Elephantine, the land has been raised about nine feet in seventeen hundred years, at Thebes, about seven, and so on gradually diminishing to the mouth." He also indicates the ratio of gradual diminution by the statements, that around the base of the obelisk of Osirtasen, at Heliopolis, the alluvial soil has accumulated to the height of five feet ten inches; and that around a monument—had one been erected at Elephantine, when the obelisk was reared—there would now have been an accumulation of about nineteen feet.

The swell of the river varies in different parts of its channel. In Upper Egypt it is from thirty to thirty-five feet; at Cairo, it is about twenty-three feet; in the northern, or most seaward part of the Delta, it is not more than four feet. This arises, first, from the breadth of the inundation, (the waters spreading over a large extent of level formation,) and secondly, from the fact that its volume in the river is diminished by the numerous artificial channels, all over the country, into which it is conducted for purposes of irrigation; and in which channels it is retained after the river has subsided. The inhabitants of Egypt have, with great labor, cut a vast number of canals and trenches through the whole extent of the land, and the object of these is to convey the waters to spots where the inundation does not directly extend.

But there is additional evidence, adduced by Osborn, in

support of the fact we are considering. Herodotus informs us that in the days of Menes, (the first of Egypt's line of human monarchs,) the Delta of the Nile was already a reclaimable marsh. Now let us inquire if there be any data on which to form an opinion as to the time it would require so to elevate the land, by means of art aiding the deposits of the river, as to render this reclaimable marsh fit for occupancy. Juvenal informs us that about 1600 years ago, the Nile emptied itself by many mouths; we now know that the deposits of the river have filled up all its mouths but two. If then 1600 years were sufficient to produce the effect of stopping all the mouths but two; and if, in Menes's day, (who was confessedly, according to the anti-Bible school of "Egyptologists," many hundreds of years before Abraham,) the Delta was *then* reclaimable; is it unreasonable to conclude that Lower Egypt was a dry country, and thickly inhabited when Abraham first saw it?—We are unwilling to leave this subject without adverting to the testimony it incidentally affords to the point in proof of which Osborn originally adduced it: viz., that Menes (who we readily admit lived in a very distant period from the present) did *not* live, as some have informed us, *about* 6000 *years before Christ;* for had this been the case, if Herodotus and Juvenal may be credited in their statements, the Delta, instead of being in his day, a reclaimable marsh, would have been an expanse of deep sea.

But there is still another, and to our minds most conclusive proof on this subject, which shows "that the Egypt of the Bible is Egypt indeed, not a fiction, nor an imposture, nor a blunder—as writers of the Voltaire school would persuade the world—but a reality, so far as it goes, a picture copied from actual life."

If the reader will turn to the map of ancient Egypt, he will find that on that branch in the Delta, which empties by the Tanitic, or, as Herodotus terms it, the Saitic mouth, stands *Tanis*, not far from the sea. This place is known in Scripture by the name of *Zoan*. In NUMBERS xiii. 22, it is stated that "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." Zoan, then, we remark in passing, seems to have been proverbially ancient, as it was used as a standard of reference, to indicate the age of other cities. Now we have but to ascertain whether Hebron existed in Abraham's day. To this the answer is, that when Abraham reached Canaan, the Scriptural history tells us, he found Hebron there; and for aught that is known to the contrary, it might *then* have been standing for many years.

3. *The kings of Egypt were then known by the title,* PHARAOH.

This word is sometimes used in Scripture, as if it were a proper name; and sometimes the phrase, "King of Egypt," is added to it. Sometimes, also, the real proper name, as it may be called, is added; thus we read of Pharaoh Necho, and Pharaoh Hophra. The word is written in Hebrew, *Phrah*, [פרעה,] and different opinions have been expressed as to its origin. Josephus, in his antiquities, intimates that it is derived from the ancient Egyptian word, *ouro*, meaning "king;" prefixing the masculine article, in Coptic, it becomes *p–ouro*, "the king," or *ph–ouro*, whence Pharaoh. A later, and probably more correct opinion, derives it from the Egyptian word Phra, "the sun," which both Rosellini and Lepsius have remarked, is often written hieroglyphically, on the monuments, over the heads of the kings, where it is represented by the hawk and globe, or by the symbol of the sun. Sir Gardner Wilkinson

thus writes: "I have frequently had occasion to notice the true meaning and purport of this name. I shall, therefore, only observe, that it is written in Hebrew, Phrah, and is taken from the Egyptian word Pire or Phre, (pronounced Phra,) signifying the sun, and represented, in hieroglyphics, by the hawk and globe, or sun, over the royal banners. It was through the well-known system of analogies that the king obtained this title, being the chief of earthly, as the sun was of heavenly bodies. But the word is not derived from, or related to *ouro*, "king," as Josephus supposes. Phouro is like Pharaoh; but the name is Phrah, in Hebrew, and Pharaoh is an unwarranted corruption."

It has been suggested that the two derivations are quite reconcileable; inasmuch as it is not only possible, but highly probable, that the Egyptians, in conformity with a very common usage among modern oriental sovereigns, should make the name of the sun a royal title, and that thence, custom should make it equivalent to the word "king." But, at present, our business is with the fact that, in Abraham's day, the monarch of Egypt was known by the title of Pharaoh; and that the monuments clearly show that it was the generic term applied to all the native sovereigns of Egypt. As far as the Bible conveys any information on the subject, it tells exactly the same story. We leave this point here, for the present, as we shall have occasion to resume it on a future page.

4. *Domestic servitude then existed in Egypt.*

Pharaoh gave to Abraham men-servants and maid-servants, according to our history. Had Egypt at that day household slaves? It is difficult, in tracing the history of slavery, to say when it did not exist. We meet with it in the

earliest written record we have of our race; and indeed we are aware of its prevalence, in a greater or less degree, among all early nations. In some instances, in the Bible, the word *servant* may, and we think does, mean some humble friend, or dependent, or disciple performing servile offices; but the mass of those called *servants* in Scripture were absolute and perpetual slaves. They generally were either captives taken in war, or were foreigners that had been purchased. They, with their descendants, were considered the property of their masters, and, as such, might be exchanged or sold; nay, among some nations, a power of life and death over his unfortunate slave was confided to his master. Abraham's servants were, we apprehend, slaves: but the revolting circumstances attending slavery in some of its exhibitions, were generally unknown among the early orientals. The slaves were rather deemed, and treated, as humble members of the family; though to this there were doubtless, in some instances, cruel exceptions. Whatever may have been the case, however, as to the extent of a master's power, servitude of some kind, and a right of alienation, are distinctly declared. The monuments show us the existence of slavery. "From them we find" (says Taylor) "that the mistress of a mansion was very rigid in enforcing her authority over her female domestics. We see these unfortunate beings trembling and cringing before their superiors, beaten with rods by the overseers, and sometimes threatened with a formidable whip, wielded by the lady of the mansion herself." In other cases, the relation subsisting between the mistress and her slaves appears to be of a gentler and more affectionate character. In a tomb at Thebes is a representation, copied by Wilkinson, of a lady enjoying the bath, who is waited on by four female servants, where nothing

appears to indicate any other feeling than that of mutual kindness, and, on the part of the attendants, respectful affection.

5. *There was famine in Canaan, and abundance in Egypt.* Egypt in early times was regarded as the granary of western Asia. It owes its fertility to the periodical inundations of the Nile; these are, of course, the consequence of the rains in the remote country in which the river takes its rise, or through which it passes in the upper part of its course; for it is the peculiarity of Egypt that it does not depend for its fertility, as most other lands do, on local rains; of which, as we have already stated, it may be said to have comparatively none. It may therefore be, that a want of local rains in Canaan would produce a scarcity there; while in the adjacent region of Lower Egypt, overflowed by reason of rain in a far-distant and mountainous land, there would be abundance. Such, we believe, is at this day sometimes the case; Egypt is fertile, while local causes occasion more or less of dearth in Canaan.

It sometimes happens, though rarely, that there is want in Egypt; but we will not now dwell on this, as we shall have occasion to speak of it, more particularly, hereafter. The coexistence of want in Canaan, and abundance in Egypt, is thus seen to be in perfect harmony with the natural phenomena of the country.

6. *Sarah was fair, and used no covering or veil over her face.* Sarah was a native of Mesopotamia; and from the complexions of different nations as painted on the monuments, we learn that the Egyptians were not so dark as the Nubians and Ethiopians; but were of a browner tinge than the Asiatics. Hence "the Egyptians beheld the woman, that she was *very*

fair." We read, too, that "the princes of Pharaoh also saw her." Hence she must have been unveiled. This is in accordance with what we learn from the monuments; and, though seemingly a small matter, is yet valuable for the incidental testimony it affords to the fact that the writer of our history, whoever he may have been, knew well the fashions of Egypt in the days of Abraham, and described things as they were. Oriental women generally veil their faces in public; and out of Egypt, such was the custom from the earliest times: but in Egypt, such was not the fashion until after the conquest of the country by the Persians. In the reign of the Pharaohs, as the monuments abundantly show, the women exposed their faces, and were permitted to enjoy as much liberty as the ladies of modern Europe. This was the result of an advanced state of civilization.

We have numerous illustrations on the walls of Egypt, showing the habits of social life among the ancient inhabitants. Thus, in the representation of an entertainment, we may see the ladies and gentlemen sometimes assembled in the same apartment, and mingling together with all the freedom of modern social intercourse. The children also, instead of being shut up in the harem, according to present oriental custom, are introduced into the company, and are depicted as sitting by the mother's side or on the father's knee. In fact, no ancient nation allowed to its females greater luxuries and privileges than were granted to the Egyptian women. Their dresses were exceedingly rich and costly. As has been intimated by Mr. Taylor, the inventory of female ornaments, furnished by the prophet Isaiah, (ch. iii. 18–23,) might be made from an inspection of the monuments. We see on them "the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their

feet, and their cauls, and their round tires, like the moon; the chains and the bracelets, and the mufflers; the bonnets and the ornaments of the legs, and the headbands, and the tablets, and the ear-rings; the rings and nose-jewels, the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping-pins; the glasses (mirrors), and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the veils." Some of the representations of entertainments, on the monuments, are not a little amusing; and certainly indicate a state of female freedom, quite as liberal as could have been desired. The ladies are sometimes to be seen engaged in an animated discussion on the respective merits of their ear-rings and the arrangement of their plaited hair, and exhibiting a characteristic rivalry. Sometimes, too, may be seen unfortunate ladies paying the penalty of excess in wine, and evidently unable "to carry their liquor discreetly." Sir Gardner Wilkinson supplies us with a representation, from Thebes, and thus describes it. "Some call the servants to support them as they sit, others, with difficulty prevent themselves from falling on those behind them; a basin is brought too late by a reluctant servant,

Servant called to support her mistress.—*Thebes.*

and the faded flower, which is ready to drop from their heated hands, is intended to be characteristic of their own sensations."

A party of Egyptian ladies.—*Thebes.*

7. Pharaoh wished to place Sarah in his harem.

To this it has been objected, that Herodotus has stated that each Egyptian had but one wife. This was true of the *practice* of the common people, of whom Herodotus was then speaking; but the *law* allowed more; as Diodorus informs us that, "among the Egyptians, the priests marry only one woman, but the rest of the men, each one as many as he pleases." The difference is merely between what the law permitted, and what were the usages of the country. Diodorus states the first, and Herodotus the last. The same state of things still exists at the East, for, though polygamy is permitted to the Moslem, yet it is not deemed reputable to have more than one *wife*. "But," (says Sir Gardner Wilkinson,) "though the Egyptians generally confined themselves to one wife, they, like the Jews and other Eastern nations, both of ancient and modern times, scrupled not to admit other inmates to their *harem*, most of whom appear to have been

foreigners, either taken in war, or brought to Egypt to be sold as slaves. These women were white or black slaves, according to the countries from which they were brought." The monuments afford evidence of this. Below we give representations taken from Thebes; the first group is of white slaves, of whom the scribe is taking account.

From Thebes.

We have also the following, where the slaves are black.

From Thebes.

Generally speaking, the blacks were employed merely as domestics. The whites also officiated as servants, but held a rank above the black slaves. Wilkinson is of opinion that the women represented at Medinet Aboo, attending upon Remeses, were of this class of persons, and, at all events, not the wives of the monarch.

It was for the purpose of being introduced into the harem that Pharaoh took Sarah from Abraham; and here one cannot help being struck with the perfect orientalism of the whole proceeding. We find in the Scriptures accounts of Abraham's dealings with the kings of Siddim, the king of Gerar, and others, in which the patriarch stands seemingly on the ground of an equal with these rulers. He was, therefore, of some note; yet, notwithstanding this, when he comes into Egypt, his position is one of such marked inferiority, that we can account for it only on the supposition that Egypt was the most powerful nation then known, and resistance to its iron hand of despotism was useless. At any rate, here is the case of one, who was no subject of the Egyptian king, but a newly-arrived stranger of distinction, toward whom is at once exercised the most offensive privilege of oriental despotism. We know that, even to this day, eastern despots act thus with reference to their own subjects, and transplant into the harem whomsoever they please: this instance shows that the practice is of great antiquity; and from some cause, Abraham, who never could willingly have assented to the arrangement, is compelled to submit in silence. Such an invasion of the sanctity of private life could occur only in the East; and the whole proceeding is in perfect keeping with the known habits of the Eastern people.

8. *There was no dislike of Abraham's pastoral occupation shown on this visit to Egypt.*

This is an important particular, as will be seen more fully when we come to speak of incidents in the life of Joseph. "It would be a valuable piece of information," (says Kitto,) "to know what king or dynasty reigned in Egypt at the time of Abram's visit. But the sacred narrative does not mention any king of Egypt by his proper name, till after the time of Solomon; and the Egyptian chronology at, and for some time after, this early date, is still involved in much uncertainty and confusion, notwithstanding the light which has been thrown on the general subject by the progress made in deciphering the hieroglyphic inscriptions."*

The question as to who was the king at the period of Abraham's visit becomes important here, when we find that afterward, in Joseph's time, "every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians." The inquiry arises, why were not shepherds an abomination when Abraham was in Egypt? The answer to this involves a somewhat obscure portion of Egyptian history, which, with as much brevity as is in our power, we will endeavor to make as plain as we can to our readers.

Before we enter upon our attempt to do this, we would remark, that there are some who have undertaken to answer the proposed inquiry, without reference to any part of Egyptian history. Some writers have supposed that the aversion in Egypt to shepherds arose from the animal worship of these ancient people; and that they disliked the shepherds, because

* This was written in 1841. Whatever may have been discovered since, (as to which large promises have been made,) nothing has been made public, to affect the truth of what is said in the quotation. To the first part of this remark the work of Nolan, published in 1848, may form an exception.

they fed on animals which, in their view, were sacred. This scarcely affords a satisfactory solution; for the Egyptians themselves by no means concurred in their animal deities. Almost every district had, in this matter, a different usage. In one, they worshipped goats, and ate sheep; in another, the sheep was deified, and the goat was eaten. In some parts, crocodiles were venerated; in others, they were slain without mercy. In truth, of the larger animals, the cow was the only one deemed sacred by the Egyptians; and the nomade shepherds do not kill cows for food. There was, indeed, the worship of the bull Apis, but this was confined to a particular animal. Bulls and oxen generally were not made objects of worship; and the sculptures show, in some instances, the sacrifice of bulls. We know that the Egyptian priests ate beef and veal. If any prejudice against shepherds existed on account of the Egyptian reverence for animals, it was probably connected almost entirely with the cow; but we doubt its existence on this ground.

Heeren intimates that the aversion to shepherds resulted, not from their occupation as herdsmen, but from the fact that the class of cattle rearers were addicted to lawless habits and pursuits, which would make them objects of aversion to a refined and civilized people like the Egyptians. It was *nomade* shepherds whom they abominated, not shepherds generally; for they had such among themselves, taking care of the cattle which we know the Egyptians had. But the habits of nomades were turbulent and aggressive; they were difficult of control by law, and felt themselves to be independent of all the wholesome restraints of a well-organized state of society. They were wanderers, free and bold, and wherever they planted themselves on the borders of civilization,

were apt, for the time, to prove very disagreeable neighbors. Hence the ruling priestly caste, among the Egyptians, extended to them no countenance, but sought, rather, to put them down, and forbade the Egyptians to eat with them.— This conjecture of Heeren has been deemed plausible by some able men; but we would, with all diffidence, submit, that a much more satisfactory explanation of the aversion to shepherds, is to be found in early Egyptian history; and to that we now proceed.

It seems to be one of the best established facts in the early history of Egypt, that its lower portion was for many years *under the dominion of a race of pastoral nomades*, (known as the Hyksos, or shepherd kings,) while the upper part of the country was under the native sovereigns. It is not, however, to be concealed, that any such pastoral dominion is denied by some; among whom are to be numbered Perizon, Hengstenberg, and others. Their denial results from their distrust of the authenticity of Manetho, and from the strange mingling together, in the narrative under his name, of facts well known in Hebrew history, with certain Egyptian stories. This has subjected his statement to suspicion; and yet, with a majority of the writers on this subject, we are disposed to think that Manetho's account is not entirely to be rejected as untrue; though it is mixed up with some very evident falsehood, which may easily be detected and separated.

This is Manetho's story, as it is preserved in a fragment by Josephus: "In the reign of King Timæus, there came up from the East men of an ignoble race, who had the confidence to invade our country; and easily subdued it without a battle, burning the cities, demolishing the temples, slaying the men, and reducing the women and children to slavery. They made

Salatis, one of themselves, king. He reigned at Memphis, and made the upper and lower regions [of Egypt] tributary; garrisoned fit places, particularly in the eastern frontier, through fear the Assyrians should invade the country. He rebuilt and strongly fortified the city of Avaris, in the Saïte nome, upon the east of the Bubastite channel, and garrisoned it with two hundred and fifty thousand men, as a treasure city. He reigned nineteen years." Manetho then gives the names of five successors; the whole number of years occupied by the six kings being, according to the version of Manetho by Josephus, 284; and according to that by Eusebius, 250.

He then informs us that the 16th dynasty, which he calls shepherd kings, was composed of thirty-two sovereigns, who reigned 518 years; and that the 17th, composed of forty-three shepherd kings, and forty-three (contemporary) Theban kings, reigned 151 years; and, in reference to these dynasties, he thus writes:—

"All this nation was called Hyksos, or shepherd kings; for the first syllable, *Hyk*, in the *sacred* dialect, means a king, and *sos*, in the *vulgar* tongue, a shepherd: some say they were Arabs. These shepherd kings and their descendants retained possession of Egypt 511 years."

He then proceeds, and thus explains the removal of these Hyksos:—

"The kings of the Thebaid and the other (*i. e.* Lower) Egypt rose against the shepherds, and after a long war, Alisphragmuthosis drove the shepherds, or captives as they were sometimes called, out of the other parts of Egypt, and confined them to the district of Avaris, which they strongly fortified to protect their property. Amosis or Thummosis, his son, besieged them in their stronghold with 480,000 men; reduced them to

capitulate, and they left Egypt in number 240,000, and marched through the desert toward Syria, and built the city of Jerusalem, in the country now called Judea, which they fortified against the Assyrians."

Thus far, we have, at least, an *intelligible* story: whether it be probably *true*, in every particular, is to be seen. In the main features of an invasion of Egypt by a race of shepherds from the East, of their dominion in the lower part of the country for many years, and of their final expulsion, the story is probably true; but the invaders were not Arabs; nor would we vouch for the entire accuracy of the details as to numbers, &c., given by Manetho. Hengstenberg objects to the whole story as being a fabrication, and one of his grounds for rejecting it calls for a passing remark. The word *Hyksos*, according to Manetho, is as to the first syllable, derived from the *sacred* dialect, and as to the last, from the *vulgar* tongue: Hengstenberg says there is nowhere else found any such union of a sacred and vulgar dialect in Egypt. Hence he infers the ignorance of the pretended Manetho as to the Egyptian language, in confounding the difference between sacred and common *writing*, with a difference between sacred and common *language*. He also, on the authority of Jablonski, says that the word Hyk is found where it cannot mean a king. In the first of these reasons there would be force were it certainly true; but we are not sure that there is not a difference between the ancient sacred and vulgar language. It is true, as Bunsen has remarked, that "all sacred language is essentially nothing but an earlier stage of the popular dialect, preserved by the sacred books;" and he illustrates it by the case of the Hebrew with the so-called Chaldee; the old Hellenic in the Greek church, with the modern Greek, &c.: but he adds, "it does

not follow that the more modern idiom [the vulgar] is every where the offspring of the sacred language. The 'common dialect' of the Egyptians, therefore, is not necessarily the immediate descendant of the sacred language of this nation." As to the word Hyk, we presume there can be no doubt that it does mean king; though it may also mean something else: there are words in our own, and every language, with a double meaning. But leaving this out of view, the main features of Manetho's narrative are worthy of belief, because, if we mistake not, they find some confirmation from the monuments, if the *inscriptions* be not, as is often the case, overlooked. The tomb of one of the officers of Amosis, (who, according to Manetho, expelled the shepherds,) has been found at Thebes. An inscription on it implies that the war against the shepherds was severe, and that many hard battles were fought before they were expelled.

The shepherd kings, Manetho tells us, reigned at Memphis, and he gives the names of the first six. Two of these names, Aphophis and Assis, have been discovered in the burial-place of ancient Memphis. The tomb of Assis, is said by its discoverer, M. l'Hote, to be executed in *cavo-relievo*, with surpassing skill.

Rosellini gives a plate of the conquests by Sethos, taken from the walls of Karnac, which helps us much toward a discovery of who these shepherd kings were. The name of one of the string of captives, translated from the hieroglyphics, is the Coptic word *shōs*, which means shepherd, and is what Josephus, in his version of Manetho, writes in Greek, Σως, [*sōs.*] If we can ascertain the *locality* of this representation of a conquered people, thus delineated in the triumphs of Sethos, it will aid us in settling who were the shepherd

invaders. Turning to the first picture of the war of Sethos with the *shōs*, on Rosellini's plate, we find the representation of a sanguinary defeat of the *shōs*, in the immediate vicinity of a fort on a high hill, covered with trees, and with a lake on one side of it. On this fort is inscribed in hieroglyphics, '*the fort* (stronghold) *of the land of Canaan.*' The shepherds then, who invaded Egypt, were, as Josephus has said, Canaanites, and not Arabs, as Manetho writes.

We therefore reach the conclusion that, in substance, the narrative of Manetho, no matter by whom written, is correct. There was a race of shepherds who invaded and conquered Lower Egypt, ruled over it for many years, and were finally expelled by the sovereigns of Upper Egypt.

We now return to the residue of Manetho's story. The dynasty founded by Amosis (who expelled the shepherds) consisted of sixteen kings, who, together, reigned two hundred and sixty-three years. The last of these kings, Amenophis, or one of his immediate predecessors, "being warned by the priests to cleanse the whole country of lepers and unclean persons, gathered them together, and sent them to the number of 80,000, to work at the quarries on the east side of the Nile. And there were among them some learned priests equally affected with leprosy. When they had been for some time in that miserable state, the king set apart for them the city of Avaris, which had been left empty by the shepherds. When they had possession of the city they revolted, and made Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, their ruler, who afterward changed his name to Moses. He made many laws directly opposed to the customs of the Egyptians, forbidding them to worship their gods and sacred animals. He sent ambassadors to Jerusalem, to the shepherds, whom Tethmosis had driven

out, who gladly sent 200,000 men to their assistance, in hope of regaining the dominion of Egypt. Amenophis at first retreated to Ethiopia, whose king was his friend; but returning with a great force, slew many of the shepherds, and pursued the rest into Syria."

This is Manetho's account, and the reader will perceive at once how he has confounded the affairs of the Jews with the shepherds. It is this statement which has exposed Manetho to the strong suspicions of some. For ourselves, we venture to express the opinion, that the whole passage is unworthy of confidence. Bunsen, in his anxiety to save Manetho, says that "he relates it as a mere popular legend." Manetho, however, does not say so, and we do not believe he ever related it at all. To us it seems—we speak with deference toward others who differ from us—that there was a genuine Manetho, who probably was a man of character; that it is also probable he preserved some of the historical incidents of his country;—but there was also a spurious Manetho, that lived afterward; one who stole a respected name, and made it a cover for his falsehoods. It is quite probable that some matters recorded by the genuine Manetho may have come down to us in the fragments under his name; but those fragments contain, also, that which we believe he did not write; and this passage we think is not his. The obvious intention of the passage is to cast opprobrium upon the Jews, as unclean and leprous persons; and this passage appears at a very suspicious period. It purports to be the work of *a* Manetho who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Now it was in the reign of this very king that the septuagint version of the Scriptures, from Hebrew into Greek, was made; of course, the whole true story of the bondage and exode of

the Jews was made accessible, and could not but attract the attention of the learned in Egypt; and it was a story that reflected little honor on the Egyptians. Hence, to gratify national conceit, and wipe off national disgrace, it became necessary to put forth another version, more soothing to Egyptian pride, and more creditable to Egyptian character. The Jews are accordingly made odious as lepers, and we are furnished with a distorted picture of the residence of the Hebrews in, and their exode from Egypt, for the purpose of vindicating the conduct of the Egyptian government.

But whether the passage be from the pen of the true Manetho, or of one who put forth falsehoods under his name, is, for our present purpose, comparatively unimportant; for if written by the real Manetho, and if founded, as we are told *his* writings are, on ancient Egyptian records; then it must follow that, *according to the ancient records of Egypt itself*, there was a man called Moses, of a different race from the Egyptians; that he lived in Egypt, that he taught his countrymen to shun idolatry, and that, finally, he and they left Egypt together. Leper or no leper, these *facts* at least are distinctly and unequivocally recorded; and thus *the ancient Egyptian records bear testimony to the truth of the Bible.* Again, if we suppose the passage to have been the production of a spurious Manetho, then it is obvious, that long after the events of the bondage and exodus of the Hebrews, there must have existed some *traditionary* knowledge, at least in Egypt, of these great events; and that tradition must have preserved the facts above enumerated, and contained in the statement itself, (for we cannot suppose that writer to have merely drawn on his invention, and yet to have come so near historic truth;) and we respectfully submit whether such a tradition

could possibly have existed for centuries in Egypt, without a basis of fact, as to its grand features. Whether, therefore, the ancient records of Egypt, or centuries of tradition, preserved the *facts*, that Moses lived there, that he and his people were not Egyptians, that he denounced idolatry, and at last, that all left the country together, is quite unimportant; for in either case we are furnished with strong and undesigned testimony for the truth of at least one part of the Bible.

But this is not all. Manetho, without intending it, has furnished another example of incidental proof corroborating, in a striking manner, the Scriptures. The reader will remember, that he tells us the first shepherd kings were very much afraid of an invasion from the Assyrians. Now it so happens, that at the very date of the shepherd kings, (which we will demonstrate directly,) we learn from the Bible, that the Assyrians had actually established their power on this side of the Euphrates, and had even conquered part of Palestine.

Returning from this digression, which has been made for the purpose of presenting the incidental testimony for the Scriptures, unconsciously furnished by Manetho; we proceed to the ultimate object we have had in view in dwelling thus long, and we fear somewhat tediously, on the shepherd kings. That object is this. If Abraham, on his visit to Egypt, was not an "abomination" as being a shepherd; we mean now to show that it was because that part of Egypt in which he was, was ruled by shepherd kings, and inhabited by shepherds. The whole period of the intrusion of these shepherds, is stated by Manetho as having been 511 years, and it is clear that these years terminate at the exode of the Hebrews. We now refer to comparatively modern chronology, not contradicted by the "Egyptologists."

Hales makes the exode	1648 B.C.
Add to these the whole time of the shepherds . .	511 "
This makes the commencement of the shepherd rule	2159 "
Abraham was born (according to Hales)	2153 "

It is therefore obvious, that during Abraham's time there was abundant reason why he should not be slighted or despised in Egypt as being a shepherd.*

But the question may arise, whether the shepherd kings were known by the title Pharaoh; inasmuch as the Bible applies it to the reigning monarch of Egypt at the time of Abraham's visit. It would appear from all the light yet shed on the subject, that the shepherds, during their stay, had adopted the religion, the manners, and the customs of Egypt. Considerations derived from the monuments also justify the opinion, that the name, or rather title, of the first monarch of Egypt, *Phra*, became the generic title of all his successors.

9. *The gifts made to Abraham consisted of sheep, oxen, he and she-asses, men and maid-servants, camels, gold and silver.*

To this a German writer (Von Bohlen) objects as follows:

* Those whose curiosity may lead them to further investigation on the obscure and much-discussed subject of the shepherd kings, are referred to Bunsen, Hengstenberg, Wilkinson, Nolan, and the notes of Kitto in his Pictorial Bible, particularly to that on Gen. xlvi. 34. In that the reader will find a substantial agreement with the views expressed in the text, though there is a difference on the subject of Manetho. We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity of making a distinct acknowledgment to this author for the very valuable aid we have derived from his labors, both in his Bible and his "Palestine." We have used them freely when they were applicable, not with the view of appropriating his toil, or robbing him of his merited honors, but to make our compilation more valuable to the general reader.

"The narrator mentions the animals of his own native land, a part of which Abraham could not receive in Egypt. He ascribes to him no *horses*, which were native to Egypt, as the relator is indeed aware. But, on the other hand, he mentions *sheep*, which are found in the marsh lands of Egypt" [Abraham's visit was to the lower part of Egypt] "as seldom as *camels* (hence these last are denied to the country by the ancient writers) and *asses*, which were specially odious to the Egyptians, on account of their color." Hengstenberg has very satisfactorily answered all this. Horses certainly were abundant among the Egyptians, as the monuments show. They were used chiefly in the war chariots; and though there were horsemen in Egypt, it is remarkable that but a single instance of a man on horseback has yet been found among the representations. But, common as the animal was in Egypt, it was not used among the Israelites until the time of the kings. There were none used, either in peace or war, in the time of Joshua. Horses were not likely, then, to be used in the earlier days of Abraham's time, when, as far as we know, the chief object of keeping them in Egypt did not exist in Canaan. If this be the reason why the horse was not among the gifts to Abraham; if the present would have been useless, because the habits of his country did not require its use; then, as Hengstenberg remarks, the omission of horses among the gifts, is a fact in favor of the true historical character and Mosaic origin of the narrative. For if the history had been compiled in the time of the kings or afterward, the horse (which was then used in Israel) would probably have been mentioned; since we cannot suppose the precise time of their introduction would have been accurately known. In fact, the introduction of the animal among the Israelites was gradual, and we have

no direct historical account of the time when it commenced. By an examination of many scattered passages, modern scholars have proved it to have been about the time of the kings; but the Israelites, after that day, finding horses in the country, troubled themselves not with an inquiry as to the time of their introduction. How many of our own countrymen can, at the present day, tell *when* and *how* the horse was introduced into America?

In all the enumerations of patriarchal wealth in the Bible, horses are never mentioned; *oxen* drew the tabernacle in the desert, and in truth, in the further history of the people descended from Abraham, we find that God specially forbade their kings to have many horses, or to trust to Egyptian cavalry; for his purpose was to hedge his people around from the temptation of coming into contact with idolaters, and Egypt would have been the great horse-market of the Israelites. The non-introduction of the horse by Abraham, may, therefore, have been a part of the providential designs of God for the future.

Von Bohlen, also, denies that there were asses in Egypt; but, as Hengstenberg says, it never occurred to any one before to deny it. There are numerous representations of them on the monuments.

It is also said there were no sheep. They are very often mentioned by ancient authors. Herodotus informs us that the Egyptians had them, so also does Diodorus. They may be seen in large numbers on the monuments; and numerous flocks of them were kept *near Memphis*, the region where Abraham was.

As to the camel, it is reasonable to infer, from present facts and usages, that it existed in ancient Egypt. Munitoli

thinks that he discovered traces of the representation of a camel on the obelisks at Luxor. They may not, however, have been very numerous in Abraham's day, yet the king of Egypt would possess them.

Men and maid-servants were also given. It has, by some, been deemed probable, that among these maid-servants was Hagar; for she is expressly said in Scripture to be an Egyptian. If this conjecture be well founded, it would serve to prove that, though the great body of slaves were foreigners and captives taken in war, yet that sometimes Egyptians held their own people in servitude. The monuments confirm this view.

10. *Abraham accepted the gifts of Pharaoh.*

However unnatural and unmanly such conduct may appear in our time and in our state of society, yet, as Kitto has remarked, those who are acquainted with the usages of the East, know that he dared not refuse them.

CHAPTER VII.

JOSEPH.

The greater part of the life of Joseph having been passed in Egypt, many incidents in his career furnish us with the means of comparison, in the work on which we have entered. Indeed, from the time of his sale to Potiphar, through the bondage, up to the exode, the Jews are brought into uninterrupted intercourse with the Egyptians for several hundred years. In this period, therefore, we may expect to meet with abundant facts, to the consideration of which we now proceed.

The story of Joseph, touchingly simple and beautiful in the Scripture narrative, is so familiar, that any outline of it here would be perfectly needless, but for the advantage of bringing at once into view the facts connected with our subject. We shall condense it as much as we can.

At the age of seventeen, he incurred the displeasure of his brothers, "who hated him, and could not speak peaceably to him," and this aversion was, soon after, carried to the highest pitch. Availing themselves of a favorable opportunity, they sold him to a caravan of Arabian merchants, who were bearing spices and aromatic gums of India, to the well-known and much frequented market of Egypt. On arriving in Egypt, the merchants disposed of their young slave, by sale, to

Potiphar, an Egyptian, at that time high in office in the court of Pharaoh. Here he possessed his master's confidence, and prospered. At length his personal beauty excited the libidinous passions of his master's wife; and on his virtuous rejection of her wanton allurements, she contrives, with much art, to make it appear to her husband that Joseph had aimed a blow at his master's honor, by tempting her. Her unprincipled falsehood succeeds, and Joseph is cast into prison. At length, his correct interpretation of the dreams of two of Pharaoh's officers who were in prison with him, leads to his being summoned before Pharaoh to interpret for him also. He predicts a period of plenty, to be succeeded by an equal period of famine; and recommends measures to the king for averting the calamity foretold. Charged by Pharaoh with the execution of these measures, he rises to a station of eminence, and marries an Egyptian lady of rank: and his own name is changed to an Egyptian one. At length famine drives his brethren (who had sold him) to Egypt to procure food, when, after many interesting incidents, he makes himself known to them, and at length establishes all his family, including his aged father, in Goshen. After death his body, as that of his father's had before been, is embalmed, and both finally rest in a distant land.

We now enter, in detail, upon the facts brought to our notice by the history of Joseph.

1. *He was sold by his brethren to Arabian merchants, travelling with their spices, &c., to Egypt.*

"Then there passed by Midianites, merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph

to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt." GEN. xxxvii. 28.

Were Arabian caravans accustomed at that time to go into Egypt with merchandise? There seems to be no doubt that they were. Among other facts tending to prove it, Sir Gardner Wilkinson refers to certain wells in the desert over which the caravans were obliged to pass; and states that, as appears from the monuments, the king Amun-în gori II. (of the 16th dynasty), caused a station to be erected at the Wady Jasoos, to command these wells for the comfort of the caravans passing from Arabia into Egypt. The same respectable authority deems it "highly probable that the port of Philoteras or Ænnum, on the Red Sea, was already founded;" and adds, "thus we have an additional reason for concluding, the commerce with Arabia to have commenced at a very early period; and that its gums and spices found a ready market in the opulent Egypt, is sufficiently proved by the Ishmaelites or Arabs of those days bringing them for sale into the lower country." Heeren expresses also a similar opinion as to the very early commerce between Arabia and Egypt.

2. *Joseph "was sold to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver."*

The expression is usual in Scripture "pieces of silver," "pieces of money;" but we do nowhere find, in these early times, mention made of any specific *coin* having a fixed value. Had such been the case here, it would have thrown suspicion on the story. History offers no intimation that, any where, either in the east or west, coined money existed, until many hundred years after the date of this transaction. In fact, it seems doubtful whether coined or stamped money is of oriental

origin. The precious metals passed *by weight*, in the form of ingots, bars, and rings; and such the monuments now show to have been the case in Egypt. The Greeks, we know, had coined money before the Egyptians, and nations of Western Asia had it. The incident here mentioned therefore, though in itself considered it is comparatively trifling, yet deserves to be noted because it is in harmony with the customs of that day.

3. *Joseph was sold for a household slave.*

"And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard." GEN. xxxvii. 36.

In addition to the remarks already submitted on the subject of slavery in the last chapter, we would here observe, that probably, the first slaves were prisoners taken in war; and that the traffic in slaves arose from the fact that these prisoners at length came to be sold by their captors, to persons who had not known them in war at all, nor ever met them as enemies. The next step was that of buying up as slaves, any persons offered for sale, though they were not taken in war,—solely as a speculation. These purchased persons were carried to a distant market, and sold at a profit: and Egypt always has been, and is yet, a great market for slaves. On this subject, Sir Gardner Wilkinson thus embodies what he has collected from the monuments.

"The captives brought to Egypt were employed in the service of the monarch in building temples, cutting canals, raising dykes and embankments, and other public works; and some who were purchased by the grandees, were employed in the same capacity as the Memlooks of the present. Women

slaves were also engaged in the service of families, like the Greeks and Circassians in Modern Egypt and other parts of the Turkish empire; and from finding them represented in the sculptures of Thebes, accompanying men of their own nation who bear tribute to the Eygptian monarch, we may conclude that a certain number were annually sent to Egypt from the conquered provinces of the north and east, as well as from Ethiopia. It is evident that both white and black slaves were employed as servants. They attended on the guests when invited to the house of their master; and from their being in the families of priests, as well as of the military chiefs, we may infer that they were purchased with money, and that the right of possessing slaves was not confined to those who had taken them in war. The traffic in slaves was tolerated; and it is reasonable to suppose that many persons were engaged, as at present, in bringing them to Egypt for public sale, independent of those who were sent as part of the tribute, and who were probably at first the property of the monarch. Nor did any difficulty occur to the Ishmaelites in the purchase of Joseph from his brethren, nor in his subsequent sale to Potiphar on arriving in Eygpt."

4. *He was sold to "Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard."*

We should not have deemed it necessary to call attention to this part of the story, had it not been made the foundation of a very causeless objection. The original word סריס, *saris*, translated officer, literally means *eunuch;* and hence a German writer objects; because, he says, there were no eunuchs in Egypt. This is not true, as he might have learned from

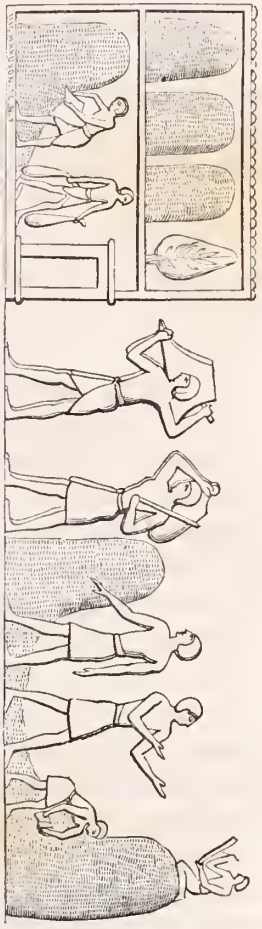
Rosellini, and the "Description de l'Egypte." Both furnish monumental proof that it is not true. The translators of our Bible, to the word "officer," add this marginal note: "Heb. *Eunuch;* but the word doth signify, not only *eunuchs*, but also *chamberlains*, *courtiers*, and *officers*. Esth. i. 10." It is conceded that the primary meaning is eunuch, but as such persons were, in the East, usually employed about the court in situations of trust, the word came to signify any courtier or palace officer, whether he were an eunuch or not. Potiphar is also called "captain of the guard." The marginal note in our English translation is, "Heb: *chief of the slaughtermen* or *executioners*, or *chief marshal*." That the Pharaohs had a body-guard is expressly stated by Herodotus; and is also proved by battle scenes, &c., on the monuments, where such a guard is seen around the person of the king, and is distinguished by a particular dress. Potiphar, as captain of this band, was the chief of the executioners: but it must be remembered that, at the East, this is a high *court* office; he was no common headsman, for he executed the sentences or awards only that were pronounced by the king himself. His office was considered one of great honor and responsibility; and the incidental allusion to it in the story, shows on the part of its author, minutely accurate information as to the customs and usages of the Pharaonic court.

3. *Joseph was made overseer of Pharaoh's house.*

"And Joseph found grace in his sight and he served him: and he made him overseer of his house, and all that he had, he put into his hand." GEN. xxxix. 4.

This is a peculiar and characteristic feature of Egyptian life. The monuments furnish numerous evidences of it. The

steward or overseer is often delineated. Rosellini has the copy of a painting from a tomb at Beni Hassan, and remarks of it,—"in this scene, as also in many others which exhibit the internal economy of a house, a man carrying implements for writing,—the pen over his ear, the tablet or paper in his hand, and the writing-table under his arm,—either follows or goes before the servants." And all doubt is removed as to the office and character of this personage, by an inscription over him stating that he is the overseer of the slaves, or the steward.



Wilkinson has also the drawing of an Egyptian steward "overlooking the tillage of the lands." "Among the objects of tillage and husbandry" (says Rosellini), "we often see a steward, who takes account and makes a registry of the harvest, before it is deposited in the storehouse." A representation of such a scene is annexed, where the steward is placed on the top of a heap of grain, while one of the men below is informing him of the amount of work done, and accompanying his statement of numbers with manual signs.

"In a tomb at Kum el Ahmar," (according to Rosellini,) "the office of a steward with all its apparatus is represented;

two scribes appear with all their preparations for writing, and there are three rows of volumes, the account and household books of the steward."

6. *Potiphar's wife seeks to seduce Joseph.*

We have here first to remark the low state of morals among the Egyptians, with reference to the marriage relation. Have we any ground for believing there was a laxity of principle in this particular? Herodotus and Diodorus both state that there was. We have already seen, from the monuments, the great liberty allowed to the women of Egypt, and the sensuality which prompted them to excess in drinking. It is not difficult, in such a state of society as these representations indicate, to believe the accounts of Herodotus.

It will be remembered that, according to the Scripture narrative, Potiphar's wife availed herself of an opportunity to seduce Joseph, when he came into the house "to do his business; and there was none of the men of the house then within." (Gen. xxxix. 11.) To this it has been objected by some of the German school, that the statement betrays an ignorance of Egyptian customs: that it would not have been permitted to Joseph to come into the presence of the women, much less into the harem. Another objector remarks that the author of the Pentateuch here leaves the representation of the custom in the house of a distinguished Egyptian, to describe that which existed in a common domestic establishment. The ignorance is on the side of the critics; neither in the house of a distinguished, nor of a common Egyptian, was there any restriction placed on the ordinary intercourse of the sexes. We have already seen that from the monuments. Those who made the objection, *inferred* that there must have been such a restriction in Egypt from the fact of its existence throughout

the East generally; and had the author of the Pentateuch been writing a story made up of probable inferences, he would have fallen into the error that we have seen in these objectors. That he did not do so, but discriminated between Egypt and the rest of the East in this particular, goes far to strengthen the impression that he drew from the life.

7. *Joseph in prison, interprets the dreams of the chief baker and butler.*

Here, several particulars present themselves that call for a passing remark. The existence of such officers as the chief butler and baker, afford renewed testimony of the fact of an advanced and complex state of social life; of which we presume that our readers are by this time convinced. But if additional evidence were wanting, it is abundantly afforded by the monuments. Rosellini has depicted the kitchen scenes upon the tomb of Remeses IV. at Biban el Moluk;—"from all these representations" (says he), "it is clear that the Egyptians were accustomed to prepare many kinds of pastry for the table, as we see the very same kinds spread out upon the altars and tables which are represented in the tombs. They made even bread in many and various forms. These articles are found in the tombs kneaded from barley or wheat, in the form of a star, a triangle, a disk, and other such like things." Wilkinson also furnishes delineations of similar articles which he found.

According to the baker's dream, he was carrying three wicker-baskets *on his head*, filled with the productions of his skill. The monuments show us the form of these flat wicker-baskets, of which, from the shape, one might be placed above another. But the peculiarity here is in the mode of carrying

them,—on his head. This is to this day characteristic of the Egyptians, and we believe, peculiar to them among Eastern nations. Herodotus speaks of the custom as being singular in his eyes. "Men bear burdens on their heads, and women on their shoulders." We present an example taken from the monuments, in which the servant is kneeling to facilitate the removal of his load.

Egyptian mode of bearing on the head.

The head butler, it will be remembered, in his dream saw a *vine*. This has been made a ground of objection to the truth of the narrative. Herodotus has stated, that the vine did not grow in Egypt. This furnishes one, among other instances which might be cited, wherein Herodotus was

mistaken. The vine did grow in Egypt; and Sir Gardner Wilkinson has furnished the most abundant proof of the fact in various drawings from the monuments, showing not merely the vine growing, but also the whole process of converting the grape into wine.

8. *Joseph is sent for, to interpret Pharaoh's dream.*

The first particular here to be noticed, is the preparation Joseph makes to appear before Pharaoh; "and he *shaved* himself," &c., "and came in unto Pharaoh." To us, with our habits, there may appear to be nothing but what, under similar circumstances, we ourselves should do; but if carefully considered, this is one of the many passages to be found, in which the truth of the Scripture story is attested by a casual and slight allusion to remarkable customs, which a mere inventor would not be likely to introduce at all; or at any rate, to introduce without explanation. Most oriental nations have always cherished the beard, and do so to this day. The loss of it is regarded as a disgrace. Such was undoubtedly the feeling of the Hebrews. Now in this common trait of orientalism, the Egyptians did not share. The monuments and paintings generally represent to us the male Egyptians as beardless. Some of the sculptures indeed sometimes show a species of rectangular beard-case, attached to the chin by straps or bands, which, passing by the side of the face, were fastened to the cap. It is evidently an artificial appendage, and it has been conjectured that it was used on the monuments to indicate the male character. Certain it is, however, that the great mass of Egyptian men in the sculptures, are represented without beards.

On the subject of shaving their beards, Wilkinson remarks:

"so particular were they on this point, that to have neglected it was a subject of reproach and ridicule; and whenever they intended to convey the idea of a man of low condition, or a slovenly person, the artists represented him with a beard." The priests shaved the head as well as the beard; and others who did not the first, wore their hair cropped as close as possible. When the monuments show us heads with abundant and long hair, the individual delineated is wearing a wig, of which Wilkinson furnishes us with drawings. From Rosellini, we learn that this custom of the Egyptians with respect to the hair and beard, was considered by the neighboring nations, and especially by the Asiatics, as peculiar and characteristic. Hence Joseph (who was not an Egyptian, and who had been several years in prison, where he permitted his beard to grow) would not dare to enter the presence of Pharaoh without shaving; and the particularity with which the writer mentions the circumstance, shows that, among orientals generally, to shave was not a matter of course; and next, that he knew the customs of Egypt rendered the act, on the part of Joseph, indispensable.

The next point calling for remark, is the dream of Pharaoh; for it is in perfect accordance with Egyptian opinions, and can scarce be the invention of an author who is relating mere fables. It will be remembered that the chief feature of the one dream, is the appearance of seven fat and seven lean kine; and the destruction of the former by the latter. We learn from Clement of Alexandria, that in the symbolical writings of the Egyptians, the ox signified agriculture and subsistence; and as the Nile (out of which the cattle came) was the source of Egypt's fertility, there is a peculiar Egyp-

tian appropriateness in the mode adopted to prefigure an abundance and subsequent dearth of the fruits of the earth.

There was also an apt and striking significancy in the second dream, in the seven ears of corn [wheat] that came up on one stalk. Some have sought for an explanation of this, in the number of separate stalks germinating from a single seed. Thus Jowett, in his *Christian Researches*, states that he "counted the number of stalks which sprouted from single grains of seed, carefully pulling to pieces each root, in order to see that it was one plant. The first had seven stalks; the next three; then eighteen; then fourteen. Each stalk would bear an ear." But an easier solution is found in the species of wheat, the *Triticum compositum*, or Egyptian wheat as it is sometimes called; which was then, and still is extensively cultivated in Egypt, and indeed, as we are inclined to think, originated there. It is the peculiarity of this species that it bears several ears on one stalk; and it is not unknown, at this day, on our own continent, for it grows in California, and there usually produces seven ears to the stalk. We have not been able to ascertain that this species of wheat was cultivated in Palestine by the Hebrews, or that it will grow there; for though all the varieties of wheat cannot be found in a natural state, and therefore all probably are but modifications from a common original; yet will not *all* grow in every climate or soil. The best and heaviest wheat of Palestine was and is the variety now known as Heshbon wheat; because discovered at Heshbon, by Captain Mangles. Laborde describes the same, but this wheat does not yield several ears to a single stalk. The writer of the Pentateuch, therefore, here incidentally describes a production of the earth, which

he probably never could have seen in Palestine; and which was, as far as we can learn, peculiar at that day, to Egypt.

Pharaoh, as we read, "sent and called for all the magicians of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof," to interpret his dreams. We meet with these men here, and again, as we shall see hereafter. Who were these magi or wise men? Do we learn, from the antiquities of Egypt, that any such class was known? We do find in ancient Egypt an order of men, to whom that which is here ascribed to the magicians, is perfectly appropriate.

"The priests" (says Hengstenberg) "had a double office; the practical worship of the gods, and the pursuit of that which, in Egypt, was accounted as wisdom. The first belonged to the so called prophets, the second to the holy scribes (ἱερογραμματεῖς). These last were the learned men of the nation; as in the Pentateuch they are called *wise men*, so the classical writers named them *sages*. These men were applied to for explanation and aid in all things which lay beyond the circle of common knowledge and action. Thus, in severe cases of sickness, for example, along with the physician a scribe was called, who, from a book and astrological signs, determined whether recovery was possible. The interpretation of dreams, and also divination, belonged to the order of the holy scribes. In times of pestilence, they applied themselves to magic arts to avert the disease. A passage in Lucian furnishes a peculiarly interesting parallel to the accounts of the Pentateuch concerning the practice of magic arts:—"There was with us in the vessel, a man of Memphis, one of the holy scribes, wonderful in wisdom, and skilled in all sorts of Egyptian knowledge. It was said of him, that he

had lived twenty-three years in subterranean sanctuaries, and that he had there been instructed in magic by Isis."

9. *Joseph's elevation to office and honor by Pharaoh.*

Under this head, several particulars invite our notice.

I. Pharaoh says: "Thou shalt be *over my house;*" and, "see, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt."

II. Pharaoh "took off his ring from his hand, and put it on Joseph's hand."

III. He "arrayed him in vestures of fine *linen.*"

IV. He "put a gold chain about his neck."

V. He changed Joseph's name to an Egyptian one.

VI. He married him to *Asenath.*

VII. Her father was Potipherah, priest of On.

"Over my house."—We have had occasion already, in speaking of the confidence reposed in Joseph by Potiphar, to advert to the office of a steward among the Egyptians, so often delineated on the monuments. This honorable station in the East, is one of far more authority and power than any thing, in our own state of society, would suggest. The phrase "over my house," would have imported magisterial power in Egypt, if used by a subject of high rank merely: but here, when it is used by the king himself, it at once places Joseph before every man in the kingdom but the sovereign; for Pharaoh immediately adds, "according unto thy word, shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou." Despotism is the characteristic of all oriental governments; and to this day, the grant of almost unlimited powers to the sovereign's representative is to be found. The vizier, the pachas, and even the beys of the Sultan, have even now absolute power of life and death; and

all may, and do, with impunity, practise the most revolting cruelties. There is, therefore, nothing inconsistent with orientalism in this large grant of power to Joseph.

Pharaoh gives to Joseph his ring. This was an act of investiture, such as is not entirely foreign to the usages of Europe, in the middle ages. But here, the ring was a signet or seal ring, delivered, precisely as it is at this day, to the king's chief officer, for the purpose, by its impress, of attesting his official acts as the acts of royalty. The more usual mode in the East of authenticating a document, is not by a written signature, but by the seal. The orientals have seals in which their names and titles are engraved; with this they make an impression with thick ink on occasions where we should affix our signatures with the pen. To give a man your seal, therefore, is to give him the use of that authority and power which your own signature possesses. Hence the extraordinary interest manifested about seals in the laws and usages of the East. In Eygpt, the punishment for counterfeiting a seal was the loss of both hands. The seal-cutter in Persia is, at this day, obliged to keep a register of every seal he makes, and to affix the date at which it was cut. To make another like it, is punished with death. If the seal be lost or stolen, the only resource of its owner is to have another cut, *with a new date*, and to inform his correspondent that all documents attested by his former seal are null from the time of its loss. That the ring given to Joseph was Pharaoh's signet-ring, appears from other passages which show that it was used for sealing.

But one of the German school of critics, remarking on this transaction, writes:—"It is scarcely, however, necessary to mention that these objects of luxury, especially polished stones, belonged to a later time." This is a striking instance

of bold and unfounded assertion. There is at this moment, in the very valuable cabinet of Dr. Abbot at Cairo, a large collection of bracelets, rings, seals, &c., some of which are

Egyptian signet-rings, and bracelets.

undoubtedly remains of the time of Cheops in the fourth dynasty, a period long anterior to the days of Abraham. Indeed, there is in the collection, a golden bracelet bearing the hieroglyphic of Menes; but of the genuineness of this, we think doubts may well be entertained. These are cut, some in stone, and some in gold. The evidence from the monuments also most abundantly refutes the assertion of the German neologist. We subjoin a specimen of signet-rings, with a bracelet or two, copied from the monuments, which may not be without interest for the reader.

Of one of these rings, it will be observed that the stone is a cube, made to turn on pivots; on the different sides of which were different inscriptions. Some of these ornaments appear to have been designed for ear-rings.

Pharaoh also arrayed Joseph "in vestures of fine *linen*." Few subjects have provoked more discussion among the learned than the question, whether the Egyptians had in ancient times any knowledge of cotton; some having supposed that the word rendered *linen* in our version, really means *cotton*. At length it was supposed that the microscope had settled the question. The coverings or swathings of the mummies were examined by Mr. Bauer, and he found that they were linen. The ultimate fibre of cotton, under the microscope, appears to be a transparent, flattened tube without joints, and twisted like a corkscrew: while the fibres of linen, and of the mummy cloths, are transparent cylinders, jointed like a cane, and neither flattened, nor spirally twisted. And as Herodotus states that the Egyptians wrapped their dead in cloth of the byssus, it was concluded that byssus meant *flax*. But Rosellini afterward "found the seeds of the cotton plant in a vessel in the tombs of Egypt;" and Dr. Bowring, it is

said, has ascertained that "the mummy cloth of a child was formed of cotton and not of linen, as is the case with adult mummies."

Whether the ancient Egyptians, however, had any knowledge of cotton or not, it is very certain that the cultivation of flax and the use of linen among them was very general. Herodotus informs us that they were so regardful of neatness that they wore only linen, and that always newly washed: the priesthood, also, he tells us, was confined to one particular mode of dress; they had one vest of fine linen.

Without undertaking to settle the disputed point to which we have referred above, we pass to the more important particular that this arraying of Joseph in vestures of *byssus*, was an additional act of investiture in his high office. At this day in the East, a dress of honor accompanies promotion in the royal service. In a tomb at Thebes, as we learn from Wilkinson, "an instance occurs of the investiture of a chief to the post of fan-bearer; in which the two attendants or inferior priests are engaged in clothing him with the robes of his new office. One puts on the necklace, the other arranges his dress,—a fillet being already bound round his head," &c.:— "the office of fan-bearer to the king was a highly honorable post, which none but the royal princes, or the sons of the first nobility, were permitted to hold."

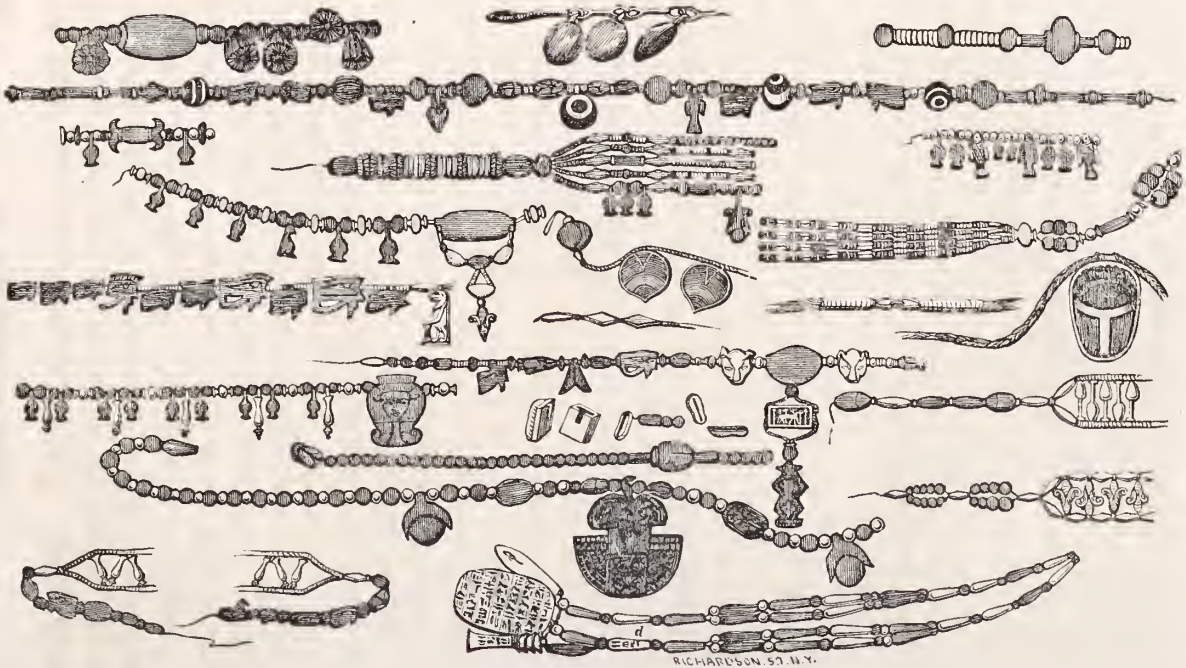
Pharaoh put a gold chain about Joseph's neck.

This also was another part of the ceremonial of investiture. On this subject the monuments afford the most satisfactory explanations. As Hengstenberg writes: "In the tombs of Beni Hassan, many slaves are represented, each of whom has in his hand something which belongs to the dress or ornaments of his master. The first carries one of the necklaces

with which the neck and breast of persons of high rank are generally adorned. Over it stands, '*necklace of gold.*' At Beni Hassan there is also a similar representation, in another tomb, of a noble Egyptian."

Investing with the necklace.

Wilkinson has a representation from Thebes, which he applies as illustrative of the very incident we are now considering. "The investiture of a chief," thus he writes, "was a ceremony of considerable importance, when the post conferred was connected with any high dignity about the person of the monarch, in the army, or the priesthood. It took place in the presence of the sovereign, seated on his throne; and two priests, having arrayed the candidate in a long, loose vesture, placed necklaces round the neck of the person thus honored by the royal favor."



EGYPTIAN NECKLACES AND OTHER ORNAMENTS.

Pharaoh changed Joseph's name to an Egyptian one. Our version gives us, as the new name, *Zaphnath-Paaneah.* The Septuagint gives us *Psonthom-phanech*, and Josephus *Psothom-phanech.* Egyptian scholars herein recognize the Egyptian word PSOTOMFENEH, meaning the "salvation," or the "saviour of the age." Jerome translates it "*salvator mundi.*" Gesenius makes the Egyptian word—PSONTMFENEH, *i. e.* "sustainer of the age."

This custom of changing names, still prevails in the East. One of the most striking instances is in the case of the Persian king Suffee, whose reign commenced in 1667. The first years of his sway were marked by calamities; and having been persuaded that these were, in some mode, connected with his name, he changed it, and with many solemn ceremonies, assumed that of Solyman. All the seals and coins bearing the name of Suffee were broken, as if Suffee were dead; and he was crowned anew by the name of Solyman. Here doubtless the change was designed to honor Joseph, in acknowledgment of the obligations of Pharaoh to him; and also to *naturalize him* as an Egyptian. The latter is an important point, when subsequent events are considered.

Pharaoh married Joseph to *Asenath.*

There has been some discussion concerning this name. The Hebrew form, given above, and the Septuagint, *Aseneth*, are considered by Jablonski as the Coptic compound word, ASSHE-NEIT, which he interprets, *worshipper of Neith*, the titular goddess of Sais. Gesenius supposes the name to be in Coptic, ASSNEITH, signifying *belonging to Neith.* Champollion, however, read the name on an Egyptian relic of enamelled earth, in the cabinet of the French king, Charles X.; and he translated the hieroglyphic, "*belonging*

to Isis." All these explanations are rendered probable from the fact, which we know, that it was usual among the Egyptians to make names, expressive of some relation to their gods; and this was the more likely to be done in the case of a priest's daughter. At any rate, Champollion's discovery shows that there was such a person as Asenath.

She was the "daughter of Potipherah, priest of On."

The word priest, is in the margin of our version translated also, prince; and properly enough, because in Egypt, the priest of one of the cities was also its prince or chief ruler under Pharaoh, who was not only king, but also over all the priesthood as high priest. It is the same name as that we have already considered, Potiphar; and means "*of*, or *belonging to the sun.*" On (signifying in ancient Coptic the sun) is the same place that is called in Jeremiah xliii. 13, Beth-shemesh (house of the sun): the Septuagint calls it in Greek, Heliopolis (city of the sun): the old Egyptian name Re-ei or Ei-re is of the same import, "abode of the sun." It is of great antiquity as the monuments show: there is an obelisk there bearing the name of Osirtasen, showing that the place must have had existence at a period before the times of Joseph. Strabo speaks of the great antiquity of its temple in his day.

It is evident that Pharaoh, by marrying Joseph into an Egyptian family of distinction, meant to give stability to the new and extraordinary powers with which he had invested him. Two things, therefore, may fairly be inferred; first, that the Egyptian high priest occupied a very elevated position of influence; and next, that among the Egyptian priesthood, the most distinguished was the priest of On. History confirms both these particulars.

As to the first point, Heeren remarks: "The priesthood

belonging to each temple were again organized among themselves with the greatest exactness. They had a high priest, whose office was also hereditary. It is scarcely necessary to mention, that the stations of the high priests in the principal cities in Egypt were first and highest. They were in a manner hereditary princes, who stood by the side of the kings, and enjoyed almost the same prerogatives. * * * * * Their statues were placed in the temples. When they are introduced into history, they appear as the first persons of the state."

As to the second point, Herodotus speaks of the priests of Heliopolis as the most learned among the Egyptians; while the most ancient accounts of the city describe it as not only famous for its temple, but as the principal seat of learning in Egypt, and the usual resort of foreigners who wished to learn "the wisdom of the Egyptians."

When Strabo visited the place, he was shown the houses in which Eudoxus and Plato were said to have studied thirteen years under the Heliopolite priests. It was then a deserted city; for Cambyses had been there: and after his invasion, it was no longer the great school of Egypt. At a subsequent day, Alexandria became the chief seat of Egpytian learning.

But to the Scriptural account, according, as it does remarkably, with what we know to have been, at that day, the state of things in Egypt, an objection is made from the usual source. A German critic tells us, that "an alliance of intolerant priests with a foreign shepherd is entirely opposed to the character of the Egyptians." Two facts are here asserted, first, that such a marriage could not have taken place; and secondly, that the Egyptians were very intolerant. The

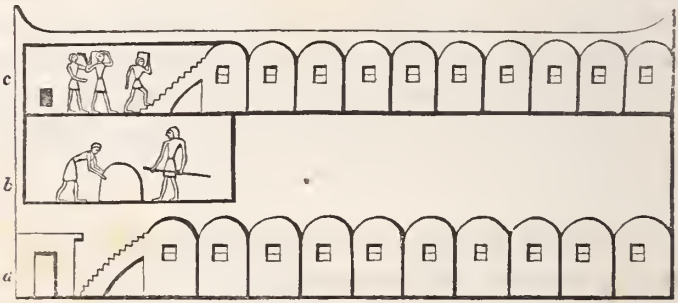
first is an error, the last a truth. The critic overlooks the peculiar circumstances of preparation for this marriage, as well as the peculiar relative position of Pharaoh and Potiphar. Joseph was not married to Asenath while he was a foreign shepherd, an obscure alien; but after he had become a naturalized Egyptian, and assumed the Egyptian dress and name. Beside, a Pharaoh had commanded it, and a Potiphar did not dare to disobey; for he who ordered, possessed a double sovereignty over him whom he commanded. He was not only his king, but he was also the chief priest over all the priesthood. As to the intolerance of the Egyptians, and their assumed superiority to all strangers, the critic admits it; and it is strange that he did not in this very transaction find one of the strongest manifestations of its exhibition, when even a Pharaoh, in overcoming it, found it necessary not only to make Joseph a naturalized Egyptian, but also to allay Egyptian prejudice, and strengthen Joseph's hands by an alliance with a noble family. Except as an Egyptian by naturalization, and as the husband of Asenath, Egyptian intolerance would probably never have submitted to his rule. The story, therefore, is in harmony with the known historical fact of Egyptian conceit and intolerance.

10. *During the seven years of plenty, Joseph collected the fruits of the earth and laid them up.*

The monuments furnish numerous representations, illustrative and confirmatory of the labors of Joseph during the seven years of plenty. "In one of the grottoes of Eleithuias, a man is depicted whose business it evidently was to take an account of the number of bushels, which another man, acting

under him, measures. The inscription over him is, "The writer, or registrar of bushels, *Thutnofre*." Then follows the transportation of the grain. From the measurer, others take it in sacks and carry it to the storehouses.

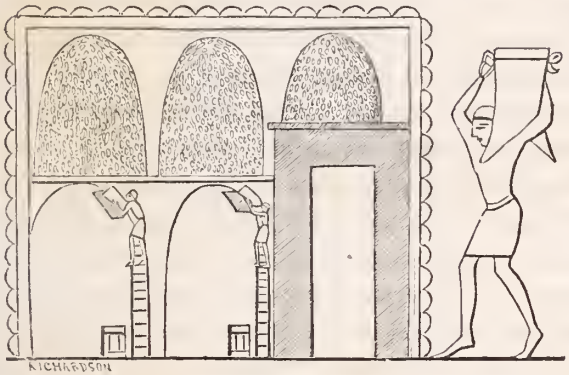
"At Beni Hassan, in the tomb of Amenemhe, there is a painting of a great storehouse; before the door of which lies a large heap of grain, already winnowed. The measurer fills a bushel, in order to pour it out into the sacks of those who carry the grain to the granary. The bearers go to the door of the storehouse, and lay down their sacks before an officer who stands ready to receive the corn. This is the owner of the storehouse. Near by stands the bushel with which it is measured, and the registrar who takes the account. At the side of the windows, there are characters which indicate the quantity of the mass which is deposited in the magazine." (*Hengstenberg, Kitto.*)



Egyptian granary.

From the cuts, it will be seen that the granaries consisted of a series of vaulted chambers. The grain was carried by means of steps to the top of these, when it was cast through an opening at the top. In the other cut, this opening is seen;

as is also the sliding door at the bottom of the vault, by which the grain was removed when needed.



Storing corn.

In our history we read: "And Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, *until he left numbering*." An illustration of this may be found in a cut on a previous page,* representing the numberer as sitting on a heap of corn, and receiving an account from a man standing below, who is using his hands to express the numbers.

11. *The famine of the seven years of dearth "was over all lands."*

We have already seen, that *ordinarily*, when there was famine in other countries of the East, their inhabitants looked to Egypt for a supply of food: but in this instance the famine reached Egypt also. Hence it has been said, that the author of the Pentateuch proves himself to be ignorant of the natural

* Vide ante, page 129.

condition of Egypt; for that in that country, a famine never occurs. We will dispose of that assertion first. It is boldly made, as most of Von Bohlen's assertions are, and betrays his own ignorance of the subject. The truth is that the swelling of the Nile a few feet only above or below a certain point, is alike destructive to the productions of the country: and there is scarcely a land on the face of the earth in which famine has raged so terribly as in this very Egypt; or in which measures, similar to those adopted by Joseph, could have been more needed. Ordinarily, the Nile is very uniform in its rise and fall: when it is so, abundance is the result: but it is not always so; and as its abundance in a favorable season is probably beyond that of any equal extent of cultivated land on the globe; so, as a counterpoise, its famine in an unfavorable year, exceeds in scarcity that of any other country of equal extent. In other lands watered by rains, the failure of food may not be total; if one crop fail, there still may be a chance left that refreshing rains will enable men to make a crop of some other production, in the course of the season, which will sustain life: but Egypt has no season but one, no watering of her land but once in the year; and if that fail, she is utterly without resource.

But history on this subject is explicit enough. There is a writer, Makrizi, who has found materials for a whole volume in the narratives of famines in Egypt. The accounts that have come down to us, are full of horrors. De Sacy gives this relation from Abdollatiph, an Arabian writer: "In the year 569 [of the Hegira, 1199 of our era], the height of the flood was small almost without example. The consequence was a terrible famine, accompanied by indescribable enormities. Parents consumed their children, human flesh was in fact a

very common article of food; they contrived various ways of preparing it. They spoke of it, and heard it spoken of, as an indifferent affair. Man-catching became a regular business. The greater part of the population were swept away by death. In the following year, also, the inundation did not reach the proper height, and only the low lands were overflowed. Also much of that which was inundated could not be sown for want of laborers and seed; much was destroyed by worms which devoured the seed-corn; also of the seed which escaped this destruction, a great part produced only meagre shoots which perished." Makrizi gives an account of a famine in the year 457 of the Hegira, not at all less severe than that described above. So much then, for the assertion that Egypt never knows famine.

But the peculiarity here is, not only that Egypt knew famine, but that other lands were simultaneously suffering. This was unusual, though history shows that there have been such occurrences. Makrizi describes a famine in 444 of the Hegira, which, like this, extended at the same time over Syria, and reached even to Bagdad. Now (thus say the objectors), as Egypt derived her fertility from the Nile, and other nations from occasional rains, it is not probable that there would be a simultaneous famine. Generally there would not be; and yet, from known physical causes it is perfectly obvious that such an event might occur. Even Herodotus knew that the waters causing an increase in the Nile, were the result of the tropical rains in the mountains of Abyssinia. To the *quantity* of water falling in these rains, *two* causes contribute, which in different years, may make them more or less. The one cause is in the formation of rain-clouds in Abyssinia itself, attracted by the mountains and

discharging their contents on them: the other cause (as has been well explained by Le Père in the *Descript. de l'Egpyte*) is, that at a certain season of the year, a long-continued and steady wind, coming from the north, blows over the whole length of Egypt, as every traveller on the Nile has reason to know. This wind drives the water-clouds that are formed on the Mediterranean, and carries them toward the high lands of Abyssinia; here, the contiguity of mountains produces the usual effect, the clouds are attracted, become surcharged, and empty themselves. Now, it is very plain, that in some years rain enough might fall on the mountains of Abyssinia, *independent of any clouds from the Mediterranean*, to afford the Nile a sufficient supply; in which case *Egypt would have abundance*, though *Syria* and the countries adjacent to the Mediterranean *might then suffer* for want of the Mediterranean rains on which they *entirely* depend. So, also, it is equally plain that if the Mediterranean rains should from any cause be deficient, and, at the same time, less than the usual local rains of the Abyssinian Mountains should fall, both Egypt and Syria, with other adjacent countries, would simultaneously suffer from drought, and might therefore simultaneously experience famine. But whatever may be the scientific explanation of such a result, the *fact* stares us in the face that it has actually occurred. Now, had the author of the Pentateuch been drawing on his invention for the incidents of his story, we scarcely think his scientific knowledge would have enabled him to understand the natural causes which made such an event as a simultaneous famine possible, and he would, therefore, have framed his story to suit the fact so well known, in his day, that Egypt depended for her fertility on the river, and not on local rains; and con-

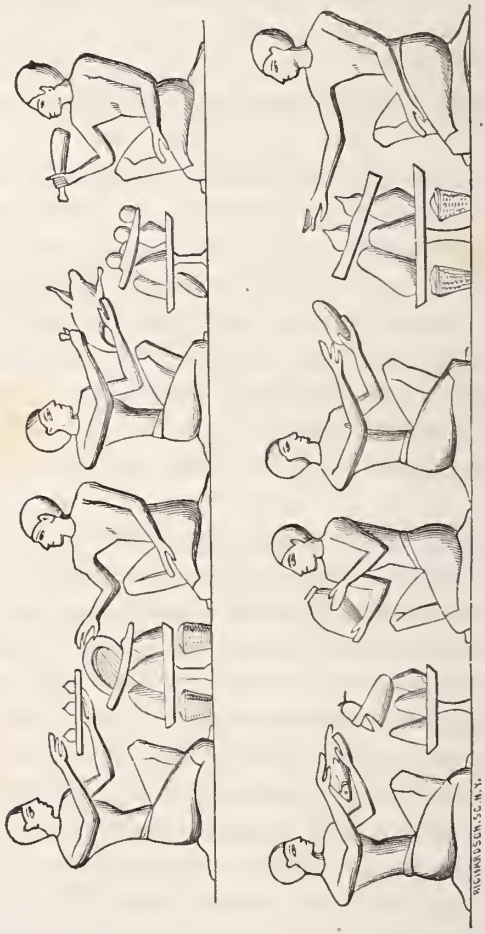
sequently would not have risked the seeming improbability, to the men of that time, of a famine, as well in Egypt as out of it. Therefore, that he does relate the fact of such a famine is, to our mind at least, evidence that he did *not* draw on his invention.

12. *Joseph entertains his brethren on their second visit to Egypt.*

There is here, in the Scripture narrative, a somewhat minute enumeration of circumstances, worthy of notice. Joseph said, "Set on bread. And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians which did eat with him, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians. And they sat before him:—and he took and sent messes unto them from before him; but Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs."

The refusal of the ancient Egyptians to have familiar intercourse with foreigners in eating, is fully sustained by history. Herodotus remarks on it, and assigns as one reason, that strangers ate food which the Egyptians deemed sacred. This feeling was carried very far: "Neither will any man or woman among them kiss a Grecian, nor use a knife, or spit, or any domestic utensil belonging to a Greek; nor will they eat even the flesh of such beasts as by their law are pure, if it has been cut with a Grecian knife." In setting on for Joseph "by himself," they but paid the respect due to his rank; for they doubtless considered him as one of their own people, which by naturalization he was: but not so with his brethren. The monuments show the customs in eating, and from these

it will be seen how matters, on this occasion, were probably arranged. A small table was appropriated, either to each guest singly, or to each couple of them.



Egyptians at meal.

The customs of Persia, at this day, illustrate this. The dishes are not brought in successively during the course of an

entertainment, but are placed at once upon the table, or rather floor. A tray containing a variety of dishes is placed between every two, or at most three guests, from which they help themselves, without attending in any degree, to the party at the next tray.

Another peculiarity here meets us. Joseph's brethren "*sat* before him." The usual custom of the ancients was to eat in a *reclining* position: but not so among the Egyptians. They had couches for sleeping; but *sat* at their meals. Sometimes they sat upon a stool or chair. We subjoin a cut from Wilkinson; and Rosellini furnishes a painting of similar character, in which the guests summoned to a feast are represented as occupying each a chair.

Indeed, among all the relics of domestic life yet found in Egypt, none are more striking or beautiful than their chairs. In variety of form and gracefulness of outline, they are not surpassed by any similar article of modern construction.

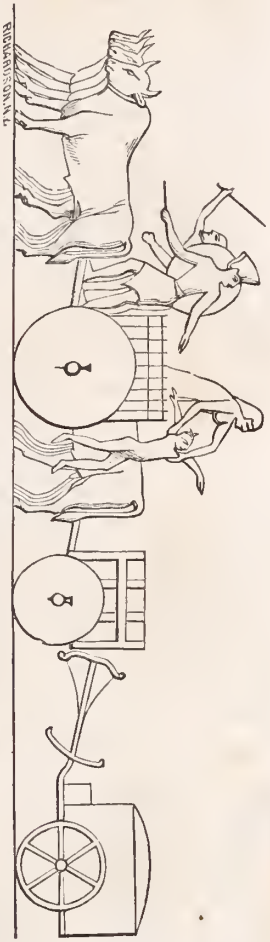
Benjamin's mess, we read, was "five times so much as any of theirs." The quantity of food placed before any guest, was the usual mode of expressing the approbation in which he was held by the host. Five or six different dishes or bowls for a guest, afford evidence of a liberal hospitality; but in Persia, now, when the guest is a person of consideration, other dishes are introduced, until at last there may be fifteen or more upon the same tray. Herodotus tells us that in the public banquets in Egypt, *twice* as much was placed before the king as before any one else. If a double quantity was a king's measure, Benjamin was here very greatly honored.

13. *Joseph sent for his father.*

Here "wagons" are introduced to our notice as vehicles

GUESTS AT AN EGYPTIAN ENTERTAINMENT.

for conveying his father and household. The original word, in the Hebrew, may fairly be rendered "wagons." With some small exception, it may be said, that wheel-carriages are not now employed in Western Asia, or Africa; but the ancient Egyptians used them, and they were also used in what is now Turkey in Asia. The war-chariot was very common in Egypt. But the monuments show also, a species of light-covered cart or wagon, which it is supposed were not of Egyptian origin, but taken from some nomade people who fled before them in war. With these, probably, Joseph was furnished. They seem not to have been used by the inhabitants of Palestine, and yet to have been known to them as a convenience resorted to in Egypt; for when Jacob saw those which Joseph sent, he knew, at once, that they must have come from Egypt; and they furnished to him confirmation of the story of his sons.



Carts from Egyptian sculptures.

14. *The arrival of the father and brethren of Joseph in Egypt, and their settlement in Goshen.*

In one of the tombs at Beni Hassan, there is a representa-

tion of an interesting nature, which by some has been, too hastily we think, considered as a sculptured story of the arrival of Jacob and his household, and their presentation to Pharaoh. We subjoin a copy of it in part, and remark that

though it may not afford any testimony to the particular event we are considering, yet it is evidence illustrative of our subject in general.

Here it will be seen that two persons, seemingly in office, and indicating, both by physiognomy and costume, that they are Egyptians, appear to be conducting those who follow them into the presence of Pharaoh, or one of his principal officers (who is not seen in the drawing). The hieroglyphical inscriptions show who they are. The first holding out the tablet, reads "the royal scribe, Nofropth;" the second is "the president of the treasury, Roti." The tablet held forth by the scribe is dated in the sixth year of the reign of the king to whom it is presented; and sets forth that certain individuals, either as such, or as the representatives of nations, had been taken captive. The number *thirty-seven* is written over them in hieroglyphics. It is necessary to observe particularly the appearance of these captives. The profile differs from that of the Egyptians; the nose and chin both project, and the former is aquiline. In the original the complexion was yellow, the hair and beard black; and the latter much more abundant than on an Egyptian face. The first figure in the line of captives, is a man clad in a rich tunic: he holds a gazelle, and is followed by an attendant leading another. He holds also in his hand, the horn of some animal, and is making a low obeisance to the king. His name and title are written in hieroglyphics before him: the upper group, according to Osborn, reads *hik*—king, chief [of] "the land." The group below is letter for letter the transcription of the Hebrew word יבסי, which is rendered in the English Bible, *Jebusites*. The meaning seems, therefore, to be "chief of the

land of the Jebusites," which bordered on the deserts, and in which the gazelle abounded.

Immediately following the first two, are four men; the first carrying a bow, the last a spear, and the two between each with a club: their dress shows them to be of some rank, and they have sandals on their feet. Next comes an ass, bearing a package or pannier, tied with cords; within are two children, and on the top a shield. These children are probably hostages; as are also the boy and four women, who follow next. All of these are richly dressed, and wear boots reaching above the ankles to protect them from the burning sands of the desert. Another ass, loaded with spears and shields, is next; then a man, playing with the plectrum upon an instrument closely resembling the Grecian lyre. The case is slung at his back. The last figure carries a bow, quiver and war club, and is probably the bow-bearer of the first or some of the other personages. Such a figure is often represented in the reliefs on the temples.

The beards are remarkable, because though common in the East, the Egyptians did not wear them; and in the sculptures generally, they are used as one of the characteristic peculiarities of foreign and uncivilized nations.

In the inscription the word "captives" is used, and this has led to some difficulty in the interpretation of the scene. Wilkinson at first supposed, from the use of this word, that it was a representation of ordinary prisoners taken by the Egyptians in war: he afterward modified this opinion, and remarked that "the contemptuous expressions common to the Egyptians in speaking of foreigners, might account for the use of this word." They probably are not "captives" in the common sense of that term. Most of the captives that are

seen on the monuments, are represented as bound, with their limbs in the most painful positions. Beside, these have arms and are playing on musical instruments; two things, which, according to all the representations in Egypt, are incompatible with the fact of their being captives. Rosellini, on the ground of the *inscription* alone, supposed them to be captives. He, however, gives a copy from a representation of "some foreign slaves, sent by king Osirtasen II. as a present to a military chieftain."

Such may be the story told here; for the individual to whom these persons are presented, is not, according to Wilkinson, the king himself, but one of his officers. If we may venture to give our own interpretation, we should say that they are either the representatives of some distant and subjugated people, bringing their customary tribute as vassals; or they are "strangers," coming to ask an abode in Egpyt, and seeking to enforce their petition by gifts. Of this latter custom, we find evidence in the monuments. Although, therefore, we do not believe that the coming of Jacob and his sons is here storied, yet the sculpture is valuable for two purposes; first, as confirming the Scripture history as to the existence and condition of the Jebusites; and secondly, as proof that emigration with women and children, and formal admission of them into Egypt as inhabitants, took place in the earliest times of which we have any certain knowledge: and with this, the story of Jacob's coming agrees.

It will be remembered that Joseph informed his father and brethren, on their arrival, that, with a view to their settlement in Goshen, he would tell Pharaoh that they were "shepherds," and had brought with them "their flocks and their herds:" and he instructed them to say the same thing to Pharaoh,

adding,—"that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians." After this Joseph presented five of them to the king, of whom his father was one: "And Pharaoh said unto his brethren, What is your occupation? And they said unto Pharaoh, Thy servants are shepherds, both we and our fathers. They said, moreover, unto Pharaoh: For to sojourn in the land are we come; for thy servants have no pasture for their flocks; for the famine is sore in the land of Canaan: now, therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of Goshen." Pharaoh granted their request.

Here we must fix our attention upon two facts distinctly stated. First, that "every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians;" and secondly, that these shepherds were settled in Goshen. As to the first, our readers will remember that in speaking of Abraham, we showed that though his was a pastoral calling, yet in his day, no objection was made to him on that account; and we endeavored to show that the cause of this was to be found in the fact that a race of invading shepherds, governed by "shepherd kings," then had sway in Lower Egypt, where Abraham was. But now, in the same locality, we find the state of feeling entirely changed; and we will add, in passing, that the *truth* of the statement we are now considering, is confirmed by hundreds of representations, to be gathered from the monuments. As if to show their utter contempt of them, the artists, both of Upper and Lower Egypt, delighted, on all occasions, in representing shepherds as dirty and unshaven; and caricatured them as a deformed and unseemly race. Sometimes, they were delineated, as were the captives taken in war, on the soles of their sandals; that they might express the fulness of

habitual contempt by treading them under their feet. So much for the fact of the "abomination."

In the absence of all other testimony but the simple fact of the different feeling toward shepherds, in the days of Abraham and in those of Joseph, we should, if required to account for it, naturally conclude that events had transpired, in the interval of time between these two personages, which in some way were connected with shepherds, and by some means had created an aversion toward them in the ruling powers. And here, actual history comes in and confirms this conclusion. It is not our purpose to weary the reader with the uninteresting details of our chronological research: we must, therefore, for the present, content ourselves with the statement, that the result of it has been the satisfactory establishment, to our own minds at least, of the fact, that the "shepherd kings," of whom we spoke in the chapter on Abraham, and who ruled in his day, were expelled from their last stronghold in Egypt, and the native sovereigns had again obtained sway, *just before Joseph was brought down and sold as a slave in Egypt.* That these shepherd kings and their followers (Manetho's fable to the contrary notwithstanding) never were invited back by the pretended leprous followers of Moses, and never did come back; that the Egyptians, on the re-establishment of a native dynasty, under a sense of national humiliation to which they had been subjected by a foreign yoke, not only cordially hated all shepherds, but looked on all pastoral people with distrust and suspicion; that Joseph himself, had he come down avowedly as a shepherd, would have fared accordingly; but he was brought as a slave, sold as a slave, with little of interest, and less of inquiry, as to his origin; that rising by degrees, by a providential combination of circumstances, in

the fulfilment of God's purposes, he had become a naturalized Egyptian, of strong family alliance and of great power; and that *he* did not suffer from this aversion to shepherds; because no man in Egypt ever could have known him as a shepherd boy; and none probably knew of his alliance with a shepherd race, until the strange news was rumored in the palace, "Joseph's brethren have come." The aversion to shepherds, therefore, mentioned in the sacred writings, is to our minds one of the strong proofs of the truth of the story; for history, we think, furnishes a full and satisfactory explanation of that aversion, in the existence of adequate causes for it; which causes perfectly synchronize with the true date of events, recorded in our Scriptural narrative.

Of this national aversion to shepherds, Joseph took a wise advantage, in the settlement of his father and brethren:— "Say (thus he directed them), thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth, even until now, both we, and also our fathers: *that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen.*"

Now where, and in what condition was this land of Goshen? The Pentateuch is not a formal treatise on geography; it is, therefore, not surprising that it does not give us a minute and direct account of the situation of this land. But it is very gratifying to remark that it *incidentally* furnishes so many particulars concerning it as fully enable us to identify its locality; and that facts so fully substantiate what, at first view, would seem to be discrepancies in these particulars, that the very references to Goshen conclusively show that the author of the Pentateuch (no matter now who he may have been) possessed a most accurate knowledge of the topography of the country about which he was writing. He was not dependent on uncertain reports for his information. He

had seen, and knew for himself; and on no other principle can we explain the fact that all his allusions to the position and nature of the land are sustained by its actual geography, without the slightest reference to any imaginary region. A study of the whole subject, will (as Hengstenberg has remarked) impress conviction on the impartial mind that the writer of the Pentateuch "wrote from personal observation, with the freedom and confidence of one to whom the information communicated comes naturally and of its own accord; and from one who has not obtained it for a proposed object." Let us first look at the supposed discrepancies.

It would appear, on the one hand, that it was the *eastern border-land of Egpyt.*" "And he [Jacob] sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen." GEN. xlvi. 28. Now, Jacob came from the East.

Jacob did not receive any instructions or orders from Joseph, until he had reached Goshen: this shows it to have been the border of the country on the eastern side.

Joseph tells Pharaoh, that his father and brethren were in Goshen. There they were obliged, in conformity with Egyptian custom, to abide until they had permission to enter Egypt. This shows it to have been on the eastern *border.*

Tell Pharaoh, says Joseph to his relations, that your business through your lives has been about cattle; and he gives them this reason for it:—"that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians." Unless Goshen were a frontier province, what force would there have been in this reason? If it were, then the Israelites would not be brought into close contact with the great mass of Egypt's inhabitants, to whom they were an "abomination."

When Moses led the children of Israel out, they went east-

ward. They departed from the chief town of this very land. *In two days*, they had reached the confines of the Arabian desert. This shows that Goshen must have been the eastern boundary.

But again, on the other hand, there are incidental passages about Goshen, which represent it as lying immediately around the chief city of Egypt; for Joseph, who must then have lived in the principal city, says: "And thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near to me." Gen. xlv. 10.

What was the chief city of Egypt in that day? The Pentateuch nowhere expressly tells us. But perhaps it furnishes data, by which to determine it. The whole Pentateuch shows in a general manner, that the abode of royalty then, was somewhere in Lower Egypt. Tanis, the Zoan of Scripture, we have already seen was one of the oldest cities of Egypt; for it was there in Abraham's day, and was then of some note and considered as a sort of standard with which to compare other cities: "And Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." Numb. xiii. 22. The monuments there, show that Tanis existed in the times of Rameses the Great. When Moses performed his miracles before the Pharaoh, who refused to let the Israelites go, where was the residence of that Pharaoh? At his chief city. Where were the miracles wrought? Let the Bible answer: "Marvellous things did he in the sight of their fathers, in the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan." Psalm lxxviii. 12. "How he had wrought his signs in Egypt, and his wonders in the field of Zoan. And had turned their rivers into blood," &c. Psalm lxxviii. 43, *et seq.*

On the supposition that Tanis or Zoan was the chief city; we ask, Was it in or near Goshen? The question will be

answered by a reply to the inquiry whether Moses and his parents were Israelites; for if they were, they lived in Goshen. Now, where was Moses found? On the banks of the Nile, where the king's daughter was accustomed to walk and to bathe. And his parents lived near, for his sister watched to see what would become of him, and ran, not far, to bring his mother as a nurse. It only remains to ask, where must have been the home of Pharaoh's daughter? And the obvious answer is, in the palace of her father, in the chief city of his kingdom. And thus, by a proper arrangement of facts gathered from Scripture, it is plain that Goshen might have included or was not far from Tanis; and that Joseph's father and brethren might have lived in Goshen, and yet not been very distant from him in Tanis. There is not here, then, necessarily, any discrepancy.

But if it should be thought that Tanis or Zoan was not the chief city, and On or Heliopolis should be considered the residence of Joseph, still would his relations, living in Goshen, have been near to him; for this land lay along the Pelusiac or most eastern branch of the Nile; as it is evident that the Israelites, on being led out by Moses, *nowhere crossed the Nile;* and thus Goshen would have included a part of the nome of Heliopolis, of which On was the capital.

But again: the land of Goshen is described in Scripture as a *pasture* ground. It was for the sake of its good pasture that Jacob and his sons asked to be placed there.

It is also, on the other hand, spoken of as a region of *arable* land. "And he [Joseph] gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses." Gen. xlvii. 2. And we know that the Israelites

while in Egypt did cultivate the land, and obtained an abundance of its agricultural products.

Is there here a real discrepancy? Goshen, according to Hales, in which he is sustained by the best authorities, "stretched along the Bubastic or Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and formed the eastern barrier of Egypt, toward Palestine and Arabia, the quarters from which they most dreaded invasion." It therefore comprised a tract of country very various in its nature; part of it arable, and part pasture lands. There is even at this day, in the interior of ancient Goshen, a large tract of land good for tillage, and fruitful. A valley stretches through the whole breadth of it; and, according to Le Père, this whole tract, from the ancient Bubastis on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, to the entrance of the Wady Tumilat, is now under full cultivation, and annually overflowed by the river. It had also good pasture lands, so that it combined the peculiarities of both Arabia and Egypt.

Michaelis intimates that it was not probable the king of Egypt would give to these shepherds "the best of the land." But, adverting to the circumstances of the case, there would seem to be nothing very surprising in his so doing. This very Goshen was the last stronghold of the shepherd kings who, but a few years before Joseph came, had been driven out; and during the greater part of their abode in Egypt, it was their chief settlement. It was not long, since they had been driven out. The Egyptians needed it but little for pastoral purposes, and it was consequently but sparsely peopled. In permitting the Hebrews to occupy it, therefore, not only was no one dispossessed, but the new comers were fixed in the only unoccupied part of Egypt adapted to their calling; were kept in a very great degree apart from the Egyptians; and above

all, formed, on the defenceless side of Egypt, the barrier of a brave and numerous people, occupying as it were the gateway to the kingdom, through which the invading hordes of the desert, and of the East generally, always passed on their warlike and predatory incursions. Whatever it might have been to the Hebrews, in their peculiar avocation, to Pharaoh it was not "the best of the land;" and even had it been, its surrender was fully compensated by the additional security which the rest of the kingdom obtained from its occupancy by the Hebrews. The story of the Bible is altogether probable, and certainly in harmony with known facts in Egypt.

15. *Jacob dies, and is embalmed by Joseph's physicians at his command.*

The language implies that Joseph had among his servants, many who were physicians. This is in entire conformity with what we know of Egyptian customs. From Herodotus we learn that the faculty in Egypt was very numerous; and that no doctor was allowed to practise in more than one branch of the profession. Some were oculists; others attended to diseases of the head only; others, solely to intestinal maladies, &c. Nor was the profession deficient in skill, or in a reputation which reached beyond Egypt. As to skill, they took the best mode to obtain it; for Pliny tells us that they made *post mortem* examinations; and this, by the way, we think, is the first historical evidence we have of such a practice. They studied also the nature and properties of drugs; for Homer, in his Odyssey, describes Egypt as a country producing many drugs, some salutary, others pernicious; and tells us that every physician there possessed knowledge above other men.

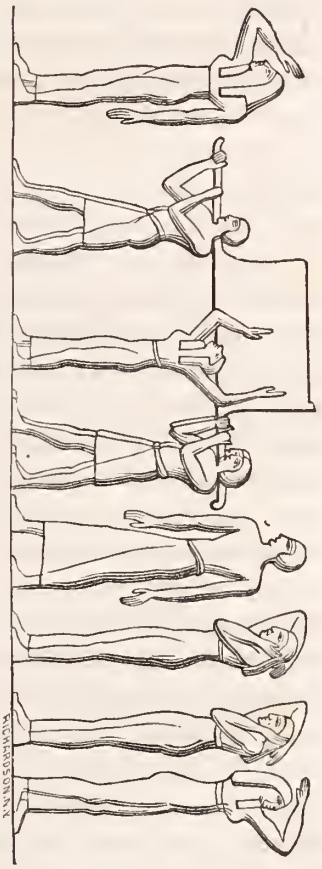
As to their reputation abroad, we learn from the third book of Herodotus (Thalia) that Cyrus had a physician sent to him from Egypt, and that Darius also had Egyptian physicians about him. Indeed, to those curious in such investigations, Egypt affords a chapter of no small interest in the history of the progress of medical science.

The physicians, or a portion of them, were the embalmers; these embalmers were a hereditary class in Egypt, according to the later classical writers. Both statements are true. The first relates to the most ancient, and the latter to modern times. The monuments show that embalming was a very ancient usage of Egypt. Mummies, also, have been found bearing the date of the *oldest* kings. It is probable the custom originated in Egypt, and was founded on their religious belief that the continuance of the soul in the region of happiness was dependent on the preservation of the body. Some have thought that a physical notion may have also had its influence. Egypt is annually, for three months, under water, and is at the same time exposed to a burning sun. It is therefore important that all decomposition of animal matter should, as much as possible, be prevented. Hence inferior animals were embalmed. The practice, it is said, was put an end to by the preaching of St. Anthony and other Eremitic fathers who, in their zeal, denounced it as idolatrous. With this, some significantly connect the fact, that, since the conversion of Egypt to Christianity, the plague, which was utterly unknown in ancient times, now commonly makes its annual appearance on the subsidence of the Nile: and that its first introduction may be historically traced to a period somewhere about the time of the successful effort of St. Anthony and his confreres against embalming. In such a discussion,

"Non nobis, tantas componere lites."*

"And forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed: and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days." Gen. l. 3.

The author here mentions two numbers, forty and seventy; the latter, doubtless, including the former as a part of it The meaning, in the judgment of the best writers, is that the whole period of the mourning embraced seventy days, of which the process of embalming occupied forty; and with this, the statements both of Herodotus and Diodorus may be reconciled.



Part of an Egyptian funeral procession, with acts of mourning.

Mourning for the dead, among the Egyptians, and especially when the deceased was of high rank, was a very solemn ceremony. Herodotus says, "with respect to their funerals and ceremonies of mourning; whenever a man of any importance dies, the females of his family, disfiguring their heads and faces with dirt, leave the corpse in the house, run publicly about, accompanied by their female

* On this subject of embalming, see Wilkinson, Vol. V. chap. xvi.

relations, with their garments in disorder; their breasts exposed, and beating themselves severely: the men, on their parts, do the same." Diodorus says: "If any one dies among them, all his relatives and friends cover their heads with mud, and go about the streets with loud lamentations, until the body is buried. In the meantime, they neither use baths, nor even take wine, or any other than common food; they also do not put on beautiful garments." On the previous page, may be seen the representation of a solemn act of mourning, copied from the monuments.

We must not here omit a seemingly slight circumstance, but really important, as indicating a very familiar acquaintance on the part of the author of the Pentateuch with Egyptian usages. He has written, "And when the days of his [Israel's] mourning were past, Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh, saying, If now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying," &c. Gen. l. 4. It will hardly be suspected that in writing these words, the author supposed he was furnishing incidental testimony to his own truth, when it should be called in question at a future day; and yet it is such testimony. Why did not Joseph go *in person* to Pharaoh to speak for himself, as we have seen he did on the occasion of his father's and brothers' arrival in Egypt? Herodotus, speaking of the customs of Egypt, tells us that "it is elsewhere customary, in case of death, for those who are most nearly affected to cut off their hair in testimony of sorrow; but the Egyptians, who, at other times, have their heads closely shorn, suffer the hair on this occasion to grow on both head and chin." Joseph was now mourning, consequently his hair and beard were both apparent, and in that condition, he knew that Egyptian etiquette and propriety did not allow of

his appearance before the sovereign. He could not now *shave*, as he did when summoned from the prison.

16. *Joseph died, and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt.*

The particular mention of *a coffin* seems here to imply a distinction. Coffins have never been much used in the East, though royal personages have sometimes been put in stone sarcophagi. Coffins, however, were more common in Egypt than elsewhere; but still the common people were, for the most part, obliged to dispense with them, and were merely swathed in wrappers with bandages. The original word used here (*aron*) denotes that the coffin was of wood; and we know that sometimes persons of wealth and distinction had two, three, or even four: one within the other. Herodotus particularly describes the Egyptian coffin; and those found, we believe, have generally been of sycamore.

It has been objected, that the writer of the sacred history proves himself to have been ignorant of Egyptian usages, because he makes the body of Joseph to be deposited in a *coffin;* and it is said that one of his rank would have occupied a sarcophagus of stone. The very fact of his being put in a *coffin of wood* confirms the story; for such were in general use, while those of stone were appropriated to royal personages. Beside, it must not be forgotten that the body of Joseph was to be transported from Egypt, and this circumstance alone would have indicated the propriety of placing his remains in a coffin of wood.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BONDAGE.

After the death of Joseph, sixty-five years elapsed before the birth of Moses, according to the chronology of Dr. Hales. The author of the Pentateuch distinctly informs us that during this interval all the sons of Jacob, and the men of their generation, had died; and toward the latter part of the interval above named, the fact meets us that "*there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.*" This is a particular of Egyptian history, in the explanation of which confusion has arisen, from the fabrication of the pretended Manetho about the leprous Israelites under Moses, and their recall of the shepherd kings, to which we have already adverted. Some have thought that the monarch of this new dynasty was the first sovereign furnished on the re-intrusion of the pastoral invaders. In opposition to this opinion, we are met by the fact that these shepherds are represented by Manetho (the only authority for the return of the shepherds at all,) as coming back on the invitation of the Israelites; the shepherds, therefore, were not likely to become their oppressors. But further, according to Manetho, the Israelites were *not* oppressed during this supposed second period of pastoral sway, but, in conjunction with the shepherds, were themselves the oppressors. The document of Manetho on this subject, therefore, can only be made intelligible by inter-

preting it to mean exactly the contrary of what it says; and of course is not entitled to the least respect as historical authority. We therefore reject as spurious the whole paragraph from Manetho giving the story of the return of the shepherds on the invitation of "the lepers."

As far as our investigations have enabled us to discover, the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt began to reign about sixty years after Joseph's death, and the first king was *Thothmes*, *Tethmosis* or *Amosis*, or *Ames* or *Amos*, for in all these various modes has it been written. The chronological coincidence would, therefore, suggest that he was the king who "knew not Joseph." By this expression we understand, not that he was ignorant of the past history of Joseph, but that he was not so deeply impressed as the last dynasty had been with a sense of the services Joseph had rendered to the state; and therefore not equally disposed to acknowledge the claims of the Israelites upon the Egyptian government. But why was this? Because he was from the distant province of Thebes, knew nothing personally of the Hebrews, and, with the usual haughty arrogance of Egyptian monarchs, probably viewed them with the contempt and suspicion that attached to foreigners, and, as we have seen, especially to shepherds. Sir Gardner Wilkinson has made a suggestion on this subject, well worthy of consideration. He thinks that the Jews, who had come in under the pressure of a famine, had asked and obtained a grant from the Egyptian authorities, on condition of the performance of certain services by them and their descendants. This is rather corroborated by the fact that some of them were agriculturists, while others were shepherds; for we read that, beside their labor "in mortar and brick," they were also employed "in all manner of service in

the field," Ex. i. 14 :—and in Deuteronomy, the phrase occurs, "Egypt —— where thou sowedst thy seed and wateredst it."

While the Memphitic dynasty lasted, Wilkinson thinks this grant was respected, and nothing more was required of the Hebrews than a compliance with the terms on which it was made. But when the Theban family came to the throne, the grant was rescinded, and the services notwithstanding required; and thus commenced the bondage, when despotism and prejudice soon found a pretext for imposing additional burdens. It was pretended that the Hebrews, who certainly had rapidly increased in numbers, had thereby become dangerous to Egypt; particularly as they lived on the side next to the Nomade tribes, with whom they might make alliances; and, more especially, as they were not very far distant from the descendants of the old invaders, the shepherds, who had withdrawn to Palestine only, and there constituted the valiant and powerful race of the Philistines.

Whether this pretext were well or ill founded, it furnished the Egyptian monarch with sufficient grounds for treating the Israelites like captives taken in war, and compelling them gratuitously to erect "treasure cities" for him, which they did. All we can say of this conjecture, in the absence of positive proof, is that it does not violate probability, and is perfectly consistent with the details of the Bible story.

The next point that we have to consider, consists of the details of Jewish oppression, at the hands of Egypt :—"They did set over them taskmasters, to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses."—"And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve, with rigor: and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage in mortar and in brick, and in all manner

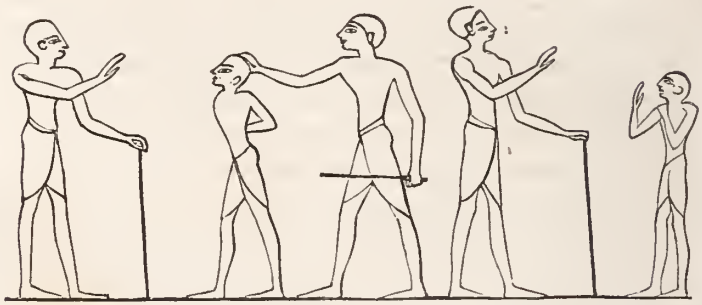
of service in the field: all their service, wherein they made them serve was with rigor."

1. *They set over them taskmasters.* This is perfectly Egyptian; and exists at this day, with the single difference that the Egyptians occupy the place of the oppressed, instead of the oppressors. The bitter cup is returned to their own lips. A modern writer states that, "when the labor of the people is required for any public work, the officers of Mehemet Ali collect the whole neighborhood—men, women, and children; and dividing them into so many companies or droves, *appoint taskmasters over them.* These are armed with whips which they use pretty freely, as they are responsible for the completion of the work." The monuments show that this was precisely the custom of ancient Egypt. Below are representations in illustration. In the first, the culprit is subjected to the bastinado; a punishment by no means uncommon now in Egypt, which is governed very much by the cudgel or stick.

The bastinado.—From the monuments.

The following affords another example, where the taskmasters all appear with sticks; and while one offender has

hands already laid upon him, another is in the posture of deprecatory supplication.



Egyptian taskmasters.—From the monuments.

They were employed in building cities. Josephus tells us, that his nation was also engaged in building pyramids, and making canals and embankments. It seems questionable, however, whether the Israelites took any part in the work of building the pyramids of Memphis, or the Arsinoite nome. The better opinion is, that they did not. But captives were, in general, the builders of public works. Thus Diodorus tells us, that Sesostris placed on all his buildings erected by captives, an inscription, stating that no native citizen had been engaged in the servile work.

11. *Pithom and Raamses were the cities they built.* They were fortified towns, in which provisions were stored up. The first named, is the Patumos of Herodotus; which, as we learn from him, was on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, not far from the entrance of the canal which, in his day, connected the Nile with the Red Sea. The initial P, is but the Egyptian article; and in the rest of the name, we recognize the *Thum*, which the Itinerary of Antoninus places at twelve

Roman miles from Heroöpolis. Guided by these indications, the French savans place Pithom on the site of the present village of Abbaseh. This is in ancient Goshen. The same scholars have also satisfactorily shown, that Raamses was the same place which the Greeks called Heröopolis; and was between the Pelusiac arm of the Nile and the Bitter Lakes, at a place now called Abu Keisheid. This also is within ancient Goshen. With the opinions of the French scholars, we may add that Hengstenberg, who has bestowed great labor and learning on this subject, entirely concurs.

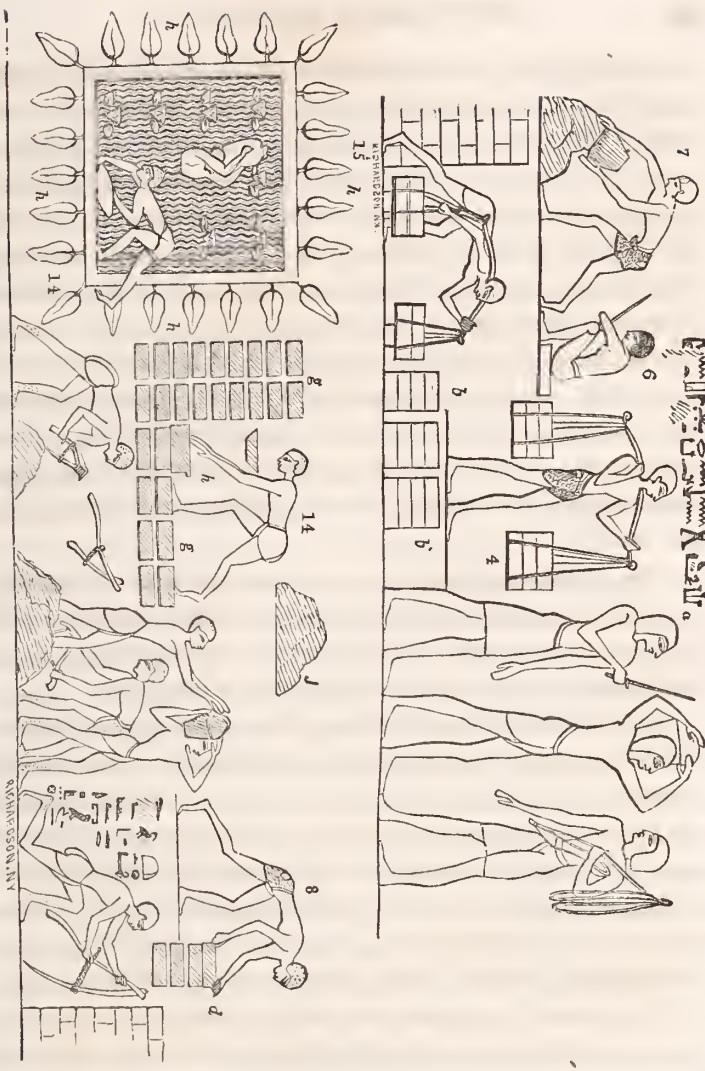
III. *They were subjected to hard bondage in mortar and brick.* Bricks in Egypt are of great antiquity, and, as we learn from the Scripture story, were usually made with straw, intermixed with clay. Thus writes Wilkinson:—"The use of crude brick baked in the sun, was universal in Upper and Lower Egypt, both for public and private buildings; and the brick field gave abundant occupation to numerous laborers throughout the country. These simple materials were found to be peculiarly suited to the climate; and the ease, rapidity, and cheapness with which they were made offered additional recommendations..... So great was the demand that the Egyptian government, observing the profit which would accrue to the revenue from a monopoly of them, undertook to supply the public at a moderate price, thus preventing all unauthorized persons from engaging in their manufacture. And in order more effectually to obtain their end, the seal of the king, or of some privileged person, was stamped upon the bricks at the time they were made." Bricks have been found thus marked, both in public and private buildings. The monopoly must have been profitable to the kings, inasmuch as they availed themselves of the cheap, because unpaid, labor of the

captives. It would seem, however, from the monuments, that some native laborers were employed, though the majority there represented are foreigners.

As to the use of *straw*, it is proved, by an examination of the bricks brought by Rosellini from Thebes, bearing the stamp of Thothmes IV., the fifth king of the eighteenth dynasty. "The bricks" (says Rosellini) "which are now found in Egypt belonging to the same period, always have straw mingled with them, although in some of those that are most carefully made, it is found in very small quantities." Another writer, quoted by Hengstenberg, Prokesch, says, "The bricks (of the first pyramid at Dashoor) are of fine clay from the Nile, mingled with chopped straw. This intermixture gives the bricks an astonishing durability."

In connection with this subject of brick-making in Egypt, a most interesting painting was found by Rosellini, at Thebes, in the tomb of Roscherê. He did not hesitate to call his comments on it, "explanation of a picture representing the Hebrews as they were engaged in making brick." We present a copy of it, from Wilkinson's drawing, and cannot but consider it one of the most interesting of the pictorial representations yet found in Egypt, even should it be supposed not to represent the Hebrews. Wilkinson's copy is too small to bring out all the details as Rosellini's representation does: we will first give Rosellini's description.

"Of the laborers," (says he,) "some are employed in transporting the clay in vessels; some in intermingling it with the straw; others are taking the bricks out of the form and placing them in rows; still others, with a piece of wood upon their backs and ropes on each side, carry away the bricks already burned or dried. Their dissimilarity to the Egyptians appears



Brick-making in Egypt.

The reader will be pleased to suppose the *right* end of the lower cut to be joined to the *left* end of the upper, and he will then have a view of the picture as it is in the original.

at the first view; the complexion, physiognomy, and beard, permit us not to be mistaken in supposing them to be Hebrews. They wear at their hips the apron which is common among the Egyptians; and there is also represented, as in use among them, a kind of short trousers or drawers. . . . . Among the Hebrews, four Egyptians, very distinguishable by their mien, figure, and color, (which is of the usual reddish brown, while the others are of what we call 'flesh color,') are seen. Two of them, one sitting, the other standing, carry sticks in their hands, ready to fall upon two other Egyptians, who are here represented like the Hebrews, one of them carrying upon his shoulders a vessel of clay, and the other returning from the transportation of brick, carrying his empty vessel to get a new load."

The diminished size of our representation is necessarily such, that we must request the reader to turn to our cut, while we attempt to supply, by explanation, its deficiencies on a comparison with the much larger picture of Rosellini.

The three figures on the right of the upper part of the cut are all represented by Rosellini with such *wigs* as are usually painted on Egyptians. One of these bears a stick; and the other two are Egyptian taskmasters, who, by their failure to exact the required amount of work from the Israelites, are compelled to perform servile work themselves, as a punishment. One of them bears a load, and the other (the right-hand figure, with the yoke) proves that they had not come forth for labor of this kind; for it will be observed that he has not yet girt his loins, like all the other laborers seen in the picture, and according to invariable Eastern usage, but wears his dress loose, like the overseer with his stick raised, and the taskmaster who is sitting (No. 6).

The hieroglyphical inscription at the top of the cut reads, "Captives brought by his majesty, to build the temple of the great god." On the left of the lower cut, is the tank or cistern from which water was obtained, and in which one laborer is seen standing, while another is dipping his vessel into the cistern. *Most* of the laboring figures are represented by Rosellini with *hair* and *beards;* their *complexion* also, in the original, is painted of a different color from that of the Egyptians: there is no doubt they are meant for foreigners of some kind; and, to our eyes, the physiognomy is unmistakably Jewish. They are marked also with splashes of clay, and their whole appearance indicates the most servile degradation. *Three* of the laboring figures, however, seem to be Egyptians, and of equal degradation with their companions.

It is not surprising that this remarkable picture should have attracted much attention among the students of Egyptian antiquity. Heeren remarks of it, "If this painting represents the servitude of the children of Israel in these labors, it is equally important for exegesis and chronology. For exegesis, because it would be a strong proof of the antiquity of the Mosaic writings, and especially of the book of Exodus, which, in the first and fifth chapters, gives a description which applies most accurately to this painting, even in unimportant particulars. For chronology, since it belongs to the eighteenth dynasty, under the dominion of Thothmes Mœris, about 1740 B. C., and therefore would give a fixed point both for profane and sacred history."

Indeed, the striking character of this painting seems to have caused an intimation, if not a positive expression, of doubt as to its genuineness. The question has been asked, "Is it not probably a supposititious work, prepared after the Pentateuch was written?" Rosellini first gave it to the world; afterward,

Sir Gardner Wilkinson made a new examination of it on the spot, and his acknowledged sound judgment deliberately decided in its favor, as being a genuine production of the eighteenth dynasty. His judgment, it will be seen, is entitled to the more weight when we add, that he is not prepared to say the picture refers to the work of the Israelites in their bondage; but rather questions it; remarking, however, "it is curious to discover other foreign captives, occupied in the same manner, overlooked by similar 'taskmasters,' and performing the very same labors as the Israelites described in the Bible; and no one can look at the paintings of Thebes representing brick-makers, without a feeling of the highest interest." We will now state the grounds on which the application of the picture, to the story of the Hebrews, has been questioned.

First. How came this picture *at Thebes*, in the tomb of Roscherê? Rosellini answers thus: Roscherê was a high court officer of the king; that the tomb was his, is plainly proved, indeed it is not questioned, and it was built in the time of Thothmes IV., the fifth king of the eighteenth dynasty. Roscherê was the overseer of the public buildings; and had, consequently, charge of all the works undertaken by the king. In the tomb are found other objects of a like nature, two colossal statues, a sphinx, and the *laborers* who hewed the stone-works, which he, by virtue of his office, had caused to be made in his lifetime. All this, it is believed, is conceded as being true.

Secondly. How came the Israelites to be represented as laboring *at Thebes?* This, as it seems to us, is Sir Gardner Wilkinson's greatest objection. The scene of the labor represented is in his view undeniably at Thebes, for the lower hieroglyphics state that the bricks are made for a "build-

ing at Thebes." It is with great diffidence we venture to entertain an opinion on this subject, different from Wilkinson's. Yet here, we must confess that the objection does not seem conclusive. It is true that the Israelites, during their bondage, occupied their ancient home (so far as the men were allowed to enjoy a home) in Goshen, which was far distant from Thebes: but we know of nothing either in Scripture or elsewhere, which *confined their labors to Goshen.* On the contrary, when they were ordered in this very business of brick-making, to find straw for themselves, we are constrained to believe that they were at work for the royal monopolist and brick merchant, in almost *all parts of Egypt;* for in Exodus v. 12, we read, "so the people were scattered abroad *throughout all the land of Egypt* to gather stubble instead of straw." This certainly does not convey the idea that they were making bricks *in Goshen only.*

Beside, according to Rosellini, the inscription does not so plainly declare that these bricks in the picture were made for a "building at Thebes;" and if they were, as Egypt formed then but *one* kingdom, and as there is reason from other testimony to believe that the usage in working the Israelites was to send them out in gangs, or classes, under overseers for a considerable time, making these classes successively relieve each other, we cannot see any objection to the opinion that they may have been sent as far as Thebes for the sake of their work: certain it is that no considerations of humanity, or of the convenience of these poor bondmen, would have prevented it. Beside, it is not unlikely that they were sent out of Goshen for *agricultural* purposes, inasmuch as we read they were employed "in all manner of service in the field;" and their numbers had so much increased at this

time, that the tillage of Goshen alone could not possibly have required the labor of *all:* why then might they not have been sent out of Goshen to make bricks also? The other inscription, too, it must not be forgotten, expressly describes them as "captives *brought* by his majesty to build," &c. It certainly was for the interest of their Egyptian oppressors, who alleged their *number* as a reasonable ground of apprehension to scatter them in small bodies over all Egypt, as much as possible. At this day, that degraded caste, the Fellahs, are gathered in troops from the remotest provinces of Egypt to execute any great public work.

Thirdly. It is objected, that all these laborers have not *beards.* Certainly, however, beard is to be found on some, and we think its absence on others is easily explained, on the ground that they were probably a degraded class of Egyptians. How they came to be mingled with Israelites in servile work we think we can show beyond question, when we come to speak of that "great rabble," who accompanied the Hebrews at the exode.

Another objection remains to be considered. There are those who, while they readily admit that the picture represents *Jews* servilely employed in making brick, yet doubt whether the painting was designed to delineate the particular act of servitude specified in the Scriptural history of the bondage. The ground of their doubt is this; that from the general absence on the monuments of every thing that could reflect on the Egyptian national character, there is reason to believe that mortified pride, after the triumphant exode of the Israelites, caused the Egyptians studiously to obliterate every sculpture which could recall the fact that such a race as Israel ever was oppressed in Egypt, and sig-

nally redeemed from that oppression by their God. Consequently it is thought this history of a part of that oppression would not have been permitted to remain.

To this objection there are, as it seems to us, two satisfactory answers. Conceding that monuments which could recall the mortifying history of the virtual triumph of Israel in the exode were destroyed, the destruction was of *public* monuments. No sculptured story or painting of the acts of any Egyptian *king* would be left to perpetuate the record of shame. The mutilations that have been found thus far are on public national memorials. The cartouch of a monarch, for instance, is obliterated, when the remembrance of him would reflect no credit on Egypt: but *private tombs* were not mutilated in this mode. Roscherê's tomb was no public memorial; its representation of Jews making brick was doubtless founded on fact, but was introduced incidentally merely to testify to his own importance as overseer of public works. Strictly *private*, it was not disturbed.

But another and conclusive answer to our minds is this. It is conceded that these are Jews working, that they are greatly degraded, and are making brick. Now the representation must have been founded on facts. We ask, then, *at what period except during the oppressive tyranny of the bondage*, does our historical knowledge of the connection between the Jews and Egyptians afford the slightest intimation or probability that they were likely to be thus degraded and employed? Certainly not *before* the king "who knew not Joseph;" for the Jews then were in favor with the ruling powers:—certainly not *afterward*, until the lapse of a period long posterior to this, when Shishak conquered Rehoboam. There was then, if these be representations of Jews at

all, no period but that of the *bondage* to which the picture could apply. On the whole, the result of the best examination we have been able to bestow on the subject, tends to produce a belief that Rosellini is correct in his application of the picture to the Jews in bondage; and if we err, we are happy in being able to say that we do it in company with such men as Rosellini, Hengstenberg, Osborn, and Kitto.

Moses was committed to an "ark of bulrushes, daubed with slime and pitch."

Nothing is easier than to object, on the part of those who conclude that the habits and customs of all times, and of all people, must of necessity have been precisely similar to those with which only they are familiar. They have never seen a boat of bulrushes, and *therefore* there never was one. Just such a boat as is here described is to this day built and used in Abyssinia; and the locality is worthy of note, because Isaiah (xviii. 2) refers to Ethiopia as sending "vessels of bulrushes upon the waters." Such objectors would probably deny the former existence of the wicker coracles of the ancient Britons.

The original word, translated bulrushes, is *gome*. It is found in three other places in Scripture. From Job viii. 11, and Isaiah xxxv. 7, compared with Isaiah xviii. 2, we gather that it was a plant growing in moist situations, and used for the construction of boats. From Theophrastus, we learn that the plant used for this purpose on the Nile was the *Cyperus Papyrus*, though Wilkinson thinks it was the *Cyperus Dives;* the learned have, therefore, long concurred in the opinion that the cyperus, in some form, was the plant *gome*. It is not, strictly speaking, a *rush*, as our translation would

imply, but one of the family of *sedges*. The root is about the thickness of a full-sized man's wrist, and more than fifteen feet long, and so hard that all kinds of utensils were made of it. The stem is about six feet long, surmounted by a cluster of little spikes, which are weak, and hang down like a plume, and are applied to no useful purpose. The stem, however, was eaten raw, roasted or boiled, and furnished materials for boats, sails, mats, clothes, beds, and books. Paper was made of it before the time of Alexander the Great, as some of the papyri found at Thebes and elsewhere show.

Herodotus and Pliny, both inform us that boats were made of it. In Egypt, and in Egypt only, was this plant applied to the many useful purposes we have enumerated; and as far as we can learn, it was not used for vessels out of Egypt, except, and that possibly at a later day, in Ethiopia. With Ethiopia, the history of the Israelites had no connection. It is, therefore, evidence of the author's acquaintance with Egypt at a very early period, that he constructs this boat for Moses, of the papyrus.

The *slime* here mentioned, may have been asphaltum or mineral pitch; for from various sources, we know the ancient Egyptians had bitumen; but as this slime was mingled with *pitch* (vegetable rosins), we suppose it may have been simply the mud or slime of the Nile which, to this day, possesses peculiarly adhesive properties. A modern writer tells us, that this slime is wonderfully tenacious; and when dry, adheres like pitch: hence, with a little straw or stubble, it needed but to be sun-dried to make bricks, which even yet remain. The natives now, when they are to descend the stream with a heavy cargo, build a wall of this mud on the gunwales or sides of their boats; and permitting it to dry, are not afraid

to load the vessel until the water rises above the wood-work of the boat. The slime will bear the washing of the stream, when the boat is floating in mid-channel down the river. If, however, contrary winds cause rough water, accidents sometimes happen from the washing away of the slime, and the boat founders. This slime, mixed with pitch and suffered to become hard, would therefore have made a perfectly water-tight lining for the bulrush-boat of Moses.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DELIVERANCE.

And now in the good providence of God, the time had come for the deliverance of this down-trodden and abused race of Hebrews. Moses appears as the agent of Heaven to commence the work. In obedience to God's command, he demands of Pharaoh: "Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness." "Let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto the Lord our God." To this Pharaoh refuses his assent, and imposes on them additional burdens; taking from them the straw with which they had heretofore been furnished in the manufacture of brick, and compelling them to gather stubble for the purpose.

The agricultural scenes from the monuments show, that the usage among the Egyptians was to cut the grain some distance above the ground; and to this day, old sun-dried bricks, compacted with stubble instead of straw, are found not only in Egypt, but in Babylonia.

Upon the second application of Moses and Aaron, Pharaoh demands of them some miracle in proof of their commission. Such proof was not wanting: and here, before entering upon the consideration of it, a few preliminary remarks may be of service. It has been observed of all the unusual incidents

preceding the exodus, that they find a foundation in the *natural* phenomena of Egypt, and stand in close connection with ordinary occurrences; and this has been urged as an argument against the truth of the story. To give force to this objection, it is necessary to establish the fact, that the performance of no act, which, under any circumstances might have occurred of itself, in the natural course of events, can possibly be miraculous. But this proposition is very far from being true. Take, for instance, hail and locusts; it will not follow that, because both these exist in nature, they therefore never can appear under circumstances which will prove them to be miraculous. Grant them to be common manifestations in nature, still, when they, with many other events that might happen in nature occur in rapid succession and with great intensity, out of their usual order of occurrence; when they do so in a particularly specified region of country, and at a particular time, on the bidding of some individual; when at the same bidding they cease, and in some instances cease at a precise time previously designated by the person who is affected by them, and earnestly requests their withdrawal; it is idle under such circumstances to view them as mere natural phenomena, presenting themselves in their ordinary occurrence. There is something preternatural here; and the distinction must be taken between the occurrence itself, and *the very unnatural and extraordinary combination of circumstances under which it occurs.* Hail may be very natural, and yet the attendant circumstances of its appearance may prove its presence at a particular time and place, its duration and cessation, all to be supernatural. There is, therefore, no difficulty in understanding how a natural phenomenon may be converted into miraculous proof.

Further, in reference particularly to the plagues sent on Egypt, which merit our consideration, we should remark the fitness of the character of the miracles performed to the end proposed. A succession of strange and unprecedented terrors, brought suddenly and in rapid succession on Egypt, would not have served as well as the plagues did to accomplish the great end in view; which was, as we are told, to show that Jehovah was "the Lord in the midst of the earth" or land. These terrors would have only proved that, for the moment, Jehovah possessed a terrific power: but idolatry was much more likely to find a lasting reproof and condemnation, when many events with which the Egyptians were familiar (for some of them were of annual recurrence) were seen succeeding each other, out of place; showing that the Jehovah of Israel was indeed "God *in the midst of the land*," ordering and altering, as he pleased, events with which they were well enough acquainted in their ordinary mode of occurrence. There was, therefore, here a special reason for a class of miracles, uniting the supernatural with the natural. And to this it may be added, that in the Scriptures generally, while there are miracles entirely separated from all union with natural events, (such are most, if not all, of those by the Saviour,) yet there is a large class in which the supernatural is blended with the natural. Such blending does not destroy the miracle, or impugn its testimony to truth.

We now proceed to the Scripture story. It will be remembered that certain *signs*, not hurtful in their effects, precede the *plagues*, properly so called. The first of these is,

The change of Moses' rod to a serpent.

Before entering on a consideration of the fact here men-

tioned, it may be remarked, that we find the *rod* to be the inseparable companion of Moses. This was not accidental, for it was an Egyptian custom. On the monuments, the Egyptian nobles are almost always seen with the rod when they are without the house. It is a staff from three to six feet long. Some of them have been found among the ruins, and are preserved in modern museums. One of them, thus preserved, is of cherry wood. Generally, it would seem, the acacia was preferred. The priests also, and other persons of rank, are often represented as walking with sticks.

One of the most curious subjects of inquiry connected with natural science, is the power possessed by man over the serpent race, both in ancient and modern times, and especially in Egypt. Indeed, the accounts are such as to startle credulity; and yet, so strong is the testimony on which they rest, that incredulity becomes unreasonable, and betrays the vulgarity of a mind that fancies independence in the rejection of every thing that is very strange, (no matter what the testimony,) unless its existence has been verified by personal experience or observation.

Some of the testimony we have on this subject does not come from a class of men, likely to betray any undue anxiety to sustain the truth of the Pentateuch. The men of science who went from France, and furnished the "*Description de l'Egypte*," all agree in their accounts. Some, who candidly acknowledge that they entered on their examination of the subject with utter unbelief, were forced to acknowledge that there was in it something more than their philosophy could fathom. "We confess," (thus write some,) "that we, far removed from all easy credulity, have ourselves been witnesses of some things so wonderful, that we cannot consider

the art of the serpent tamers as entirely chimerical. We believed, at first, that they removed the teeth of serpents and the stings of scorpions; but we have had opportunity to convince ourselves of the contrary." "I am convinced," (says Quatremère,) "that there was a certain number of men, found among the Psylli of antiquity, who, by certain secret preparations, put themselves in a condition not to fear the bite of serpents, and to handle the most poisonous of them, uninjured." "In Egypt and the neighboring countries," (says the same author,) "there are men and women who truly deserve the name of Psylli, and who, uninjured, handle the cerastes and other serpents, whose poison produces immediate death." Hasselquist says that they do not extract their teeth.

The Psylli are formed into an association, and the art is transmitted from father to son. In Egypt, serpents not unfrequently conceal themselves in houses, and thus become very dangerous. A part of the business of the Psylli is to dislodge the unwelcome intruder. The French commander-in-chief, on one occasion, resolved to test the powers of the Psylli. Traces led to the suspicion that a serpent had found its way into the palace he occupied. The Psylli were summoned. They examined closely all moist places, and there imitated the hissing, first of the male, then of the female serpent. After a little more than two hours, they lured him out.

In their religious festivals they present probably the most frightful exhibition: they then appear entirely naked, with the neck, arms, and other parts of the body, actually coiled around by serpents, which they permit to bite and tear their chests and stomachs, while they themselves, in a sort of wild frenzy, having their features contorted to an expression of insanity, with foam falling from the mouth, bite the serpents

in return. In fact, some modern travellers state that they have seen them actually eat their heads.

Not the least singular part of their strange calling is their sleight of hand. They will change the Haje, the species of serpent which they use for this trick, into a seeming rod, and compel it to feign the rigidity of death. To perform this, they spit in its throat, compel it to shut its mouth, and lay it down upon the ground. Then, they lay their hand on its head, and immediately the serpent, stiff and motionless, falls into a kind of torpor. When they wish, they rouse it by seizing it by the tail and roughly rubbing it between their hands. To this Du Bois Aymé, one of the French school, bears witness.

Of this same species, which is often to be seen sculptured on the monuments, and which is the undoubted cneph or agathodœmon of the ancient Egyptians, Colonel Smith informs us that it inflates the skin of the neck into an intumefaction of that part; and the Psylli or serpent charmers, by a particular pressure on the neck, can render the inflation of the animal so intense that the serpent becomes rigid, and can be held out horizontally as if it were a staff. We may, therefore, he thinks, "infer that the magicians of Pharaoh used a real serpent for a rod—namely this species, now called *Naja Haje*, for their imposture; since they, no doubt, did what the present serpent charmers perform with the same species by means of a temporary asphyxiation or suspension of vitality; and producing restoration to active life, by liberating or throwing down." This statement affords us, at least, evidence of remarkable facts connected with the serpent tamers of both ancient and modern Egypt, sufficient to show that the story we have in the Pentateuch is in harmony with an existing state of things in the time of Moses. Jannes and Jambres, who, as

we elsewhere learn from Jewish traditions, are supposed to be those who, on this occasion, withstood Moses, may have been but expert jugglers: but it is of very little importance to inquire by which of their many tricks they accomplished their seeming miracle. The real miracle consists in this, that Moses' rod was truly changed into a serpent, and then *devoured theirs*. The object was to show the power of the true God, and whatever seeming imitations the magicians might furnish, it is remarkable that in the three first signs Moses gave of his mission, that power was proved. Thus here Moses' rod swallows up theirs; they also seemingly changed, on a limited scale, water into blood, but they cannot do, as Moses does, *convert it again into water;* so, too, they brought up frogs on the land, but they could not, like Moses, *free the land from them.* It is also to be noted that the author of the Pentateuch does not pretend to speak with certainty on the origin or nature of the acts performed by the magicians. He commits himself to no opinion by calling them either jugglery, or miracles performed by God's permission under satanic influences; but contents himself with a simple statement of the facts, without entering into an explanation of them. The only issue, therefore, that is here made, is as to the fact itself. Those who deny it are bound to produce some proof, not that it was unusual merely, but that it was actually *impossible.* We have shown that in Egypt, something, very similar to it at least, might have seemingly been done by these magicians; and that, in the absence of all proof to the contrary, is quite sufficient to show that Egypt, in this particular, has revealed nothing to contradict the Bible. For ourselves, we are free to admit that, while we look on all the plagues of Egypt as miraculous displays of Divine power, we hope to show that so far

as natural phenomena are involved in them, nothing that we know of that ancient land, will be found, but what harmonizes with the Scripture narration.

The first Plague—the change of Water into Blood.

The change here indicated, it is supposed, and that not without sufficient reason, (gathered from other and analogous passages,) does not imply any thing more than a change to a blood-red color. It is a very common form of Hebrew speech to express similarity by identity.

Those who are anxious to find an explanation of the plagues of Egypt, in mere natural and ordinary events of that country, are peculiarly unfortunate with this one.

1. It is said, and truly, that the waters of the Nile during one period of their increase become of a brownish red color, owing probably to the earth washed down from Abyssinia, and that the discoloration here spoken of arises from that cause.

The first and most obvious answer to this is; that, on this supposition, it is not easy to understand why the Egyptians should have been either surprised or intimidated by so familiar an occurrence.

But further: a part of the phenomenon, according to the Bible, is thus recorded: "The river shall stink, and the Egyptians shall loathe to drink of the water of the river." It could not then have been the ordinary discoloration of a common overflow; for, in such case, the water does not cease to be drinkable. "During the continuance of my journey," (says Sonnini,) "I, with my companions, had no other drink than the unmingled water of the Nile. We drank it without any one of us experiencing inconvenience, at all seasons of the year, even when the inundation so fills it with slime that

it is thick and reddish, and appears truly loathsome." The fact would appear, from the accounts of travellers, to be, that, so far from its red color making it unwholesome, it is rather a sign that it is fit for use: for it is preceded by a greenish discoloration, during which it is so corrupt, tasteless, and unwholesome, that the natives confine themselves to the water which they have preserved in cisterns.

But, thirdly, this could not have been the discoloration of the usual overflow, from a consideration of the *time* of the occurrence. It is true, as Dr. Hales has remarked, that the season of the year is not distinctly specified; and yet there are abundant data from which it may be ascertained with certainty. We read that at the time of these plagues, and particularly of that of hail, which *followed* the one we are considering, "the flax and the barley was smitten, for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled: but the wheat and the rice were not smitten; for they were not grown up." Now these statements enable us to fix the season of the year. Flax in Egypt ripens in March, when the plants are gathered; it must therefore have been "bolled," or risen in stalk in February. Barley is gathered in Egypt, according to all the accounts, one month before the wheat. The wheat harvest in Upper Egypt is in April, and in Lower Egypt in May: barley, therefore, would have been in ear in February. The season, therefore, must have been about February, when the plague of hail happened; certainly not later than that month. The change from water to blood was *before* the hail—probably in January; but the discoloration of the river, from the natural overflow, does not take place until months after February, and the commencement of the rise is punctual almost to a day. The only ground, therefore, on which this

can be considered the annual, natural discoloration of the river is, that the river must have risen months before its time; and we do not see that this anticipatory rise at the command of Moses, which is the solution of Michaelis, would have been any less miraculous than the discoloration of the water.

But there is another fact stated that is conclusive. *The fish died.* Of such an effect as this, produced by the annual rise of the river, there is not an instance on record. Another feature, which stamps the event as no mere natural result of well-known ordinary causes, is this, that the waters are changed *suddenly*, not gradually, as in a rise; and, further, that the change was according to the prediction of Moses, and at the precise moment when he lifted his rod. There are also some matters of seemingly minor importance connected with this plague, which are yet testimony much too strong to be overlooked. Every man, familiar with the business of examining evidence, knows full well that sometimes the great work of eviscerating truth is accomplished by closely marking the *incidental* statements of a witness, having seemingly little or no connection with the principal subject. Such remarks often betray a prepared story, of which all the little minor details that ought to belong to it, if true, have not been duly studied beforehand: and so also they often show an unstudied consistency in every minute particular, because the witness is simply telling the truth, with no further or other preparation than that of drawing on his memory for facts. Now, here are some particulars in the writer of our history of precisely this description. They are brought forward with no parade, accompanied with no labored explanation to show their consistency with the chief features of the story, but mentioned casually, as if by a man who took it for granted

that all who heard him knew as well as he did the manners and customs of the country of which he was speaking. Thus he tells us that God commanded Moses to stretch out his rod "that there may be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, *both in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone*." Now in these latter words there is evident particularity: they are not necessary to impress us with either the extent or reality of the miracle; and except from a man perfectly familiar with the customs of Egypt, we should probably not have had them without explanation. The waters of the Nile are frequently purified for drinking in vessels both of wood and stone. As on the Mississippi river, at this day, they are placed in vessels, and crushed almonds are dropped in, to cause a speedy precipitation of the sediment. They are also filtered through porous stone. The point here to which we would attach importance is not, however, so much the coincidence of Egyptian usages with the language used, as it is the perfectly natural and unpremeditated manner in which the allusion is made. The author supposes that a mere hint is enough, without pausing to reflect whether all his readers are as familiar as he is with the peculiarities of Egypt. And by the way, we must not omit to remark, that the change in the domestic vessels of the Egyptians containing *purified* water was certainly not produced by the red earth of the river, and consequently here, at least, is a miracle. All the German school are careful to overlook this part of the story.

Again: Moses is commanded to stretch out his hand "upon the waters of Egypt, upon their *streams*, and upon their *rivers*, [as we translate it, but as we should read it, and as the Septuagint does, *canals*,] and upon their *ponds*, and upon all their *pools*, [or, as in the margin, gatherings of their

waters.] Why this elaborate classification of the waters of Egypt? Because of its conformity to the truth, which feared not to classify, because it feared no detection of falsehood. The streams (says Faber) are the arms of the Nile, the canals the artificial ditches for irrigation, the ponds are the stagnant bodies of water which the Nile makes, and which are called in Egypt *birkeh*, and the pools or gatherings of their waters are the waters left behind by the Nile on its subsidence, the lakes and puddles, from which the peasants at a distance from the river get their water.

Further: the instructions given to Moses were, "Get thee unto Pharaoh in the morning; lo, he goeth out unto the water; and thou shalt stand by the river's brink against he come," &c. And again: "Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh; lo, he cometh forth to the water," &c. Why this positive certainty that early in the morning the king would be by the river brink? Because the Nile was deified. The monuments furnish ample proof of this fact, and Pharaoh's early resort to it was but an habitual act of devotion. On the whole, then, it would seem to be plain from the story of this plague, not only that the author had a perfectly accurate knowledge of the usages of Egypt, but that he also relates them with such unpremeditated simplicity as creates a strong proof of their truthfulness.

The second Plague—the Frogs.

Here, as before, the object of superstition became the instrument of punishment. The frog was one of the deities of Egypt, and, as might be expected, abundant enough in such a country. In connection, however, with our general subject, there is nothing calling for special remark, beyond the fact that this

must have been a terrible annoyance to a people so scrupulously clean as were the Egyptians. It is also to be observed that Pharaoh, alarmed by this plague, entreated its removal, and, by direction of Moses, named the time at which it should disappear. At that time it did disappear, thus proving the miraculous nature of the transaction.

The third Plague—Lice or Gnats.

There has been much learned discussion as to the insect that constituted this plague. The Hebrew word is *kinnim*. The Septuagint translates it by the Greek word σκνίφες, which means properly the gnat, which we call the mosquito, an insect most abundant and troublesome in Egypt. The learned seem generally to concur in the opinion that this is the insect meant by the word *kinnim*, because the translators of the Septuagint who lived in Egypt, and therefore knew what insect was meant, have thus translated it; as have also Origen and Jerome, both of whom had better opportunities of knowing what was meant than we have. It is, however, not to be denied that there are some who adhere to the version in our translation. It is, however, of but little moment which of the two named insects was meant; both are painfully abundant in Egypt, and on this occasion were brought in swarms most extraordinary, even in that country; perhaps, too, they were produced thus abundantly, at a time of the year when they do not usually abound. There is, however, in this plague, little, if there be any thing, connected with the subject we are considering.

The fourth Plague—the Flies.

Here again, there seems to be some doubt as to the precise nature of the insect meant. The Hebrew (*arob*) is rendered

in the Vulgate, *omne genus muscarum*, all sorts of flies, and hence our version reads it, "swarms of *flies*;" but the word for *flies* is not in the original. The word *arob* can scarcely have any other meaning than *the mingling*, or *mixture*. Some have hence supposed that the plague consisted of an immense number of beasts of prey of various kinds; others suppose it to have been a mixture of divers species of annoying insects; while others again think that it was a fly, principally because the Septuagint translates *arob* by a Greek word meaning dog-fly. To this latter reading it has been objected that it is said "the land was corrupted by reason of the swarm," and that this could hardly be applied to any fly properly so called: beside, in Psalm lxxxviii. 45, the *arob* is described as *devouring* the Egyptians, an act that seems inapplicable to a fly. A modern opinion that seems to have gained many supporters is, that the Egyptian beetle is here meant by *arob*. If this be so, then here again, as in the case of the frogs, the Egyptians were chastised through one of their own idols. It was one of the sacred animals of Egypt.

But the circumstance most worthy of note in the history of this plague is this: when it appeared, "Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron, and said, Go ye, sacrifice to your God in the land. And Moses said, It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us? We will go three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to the Lord our God."

Here is an undoubted reference to Egyptian opinions and customs, with which the story agrees. The meaning almost universally given to it is, that the Israelites could not offer

their sacrifices in Egypt, because their own lives would be taken, if they killed, even in sacrifice, animals deemed sacred in Egypt. The sacred animals of Egypt were of different grades. Some were absolutely worshipped as gods; others were looked on as living symbols of the gods. Some were worshipped generally throughout Egypt; others in particular districts only. Nor did the several districts always make the same animal the idol; as we have said before, the god of one was the object of execration in another. Those that were principally esteemed and honored with a more intense devotion, either generally or particularly, were the solitary bull Apis, (not bulls generally,) the cow, the sheep, goat, cat, dog, ichneumon and crocodile: among birds, the hawk and the ibis. But whatever might be the animal god of the highest order, it was guarded and protected with the deepest reverence. Lands were assigned for its special support. To kill it was unpardonable sacrilege, and even if it were done by accident, it was punished with death. If a fire happened, there was the greatest anxiety lest any of the godly race of cats should perish in the flames. They embalmed the dead bodies of their beastly idols; made great lamentation over them, and buried them with pomp. Diodorus relates an anecdote, which may serve to explain the apprehension of Moses. He states it as having occurred while he was in Egypt.

Some Romans were in that country, for the purpose of making a treaty with the king. The Roman power was then much feared; and the people, anxious for the treaty, bestowed on the strangers uncommon attention and civility. One of them unintentionally killed a cat. Instantly, notwithstanding the strong grounds for forbearance, the people rose in an ungovernable mob, hastened to the lodging of the unfor-

tunate man; and not even the personal interference of the king himself, nor the dread of the Roman power, could save his life.

The animals which the Israelites would offer in sacrifice, were the oxen, the cow, the sheep, and the goat. All were sacred in Egypt; and though the oxen might sometimes be sacrificed, yet it was not every ox that might be made the victim. It was necessary that the beast, before he was slain, should be closely examined by a priest, to see that he was free from certain marks; the presence of which would have made him sacred, and unfit for a victim. Herodotus tells us, that only a red ox could be offered; one single black hair would cause it to be set aside. Cows were all consecrated to Athor, and could not on any account be sacrificed. The sheep was sacred in the locality of the transaction we are considering, and so was the goat. What Moses meant, therefore, probably was, that the Egyptians would have risen in a body, and in their religious frenzy would have massacred the Israelites, had they attempted to offer their sacrifices in Egypt.

Hengstenberg very ingeniously reasons to prove, that the offence of the Israelites in sacrificing would have consisted in their entire disregard of what, among the Egyptians, was a point of great religious importance, viz., the *cleanness* of the animal offered. Herodotus says: "They are not allowed to sacrifice any animals, except those that are clean among them;" and hence Moses says: "Lo, shall we sacrifice the *abomination* of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?" From this he infers, that the animals alluded to by Moses in the word "abomination," could not be consecrated among the Egyptians; for the word would then have

been inapplicable: but that what is meant by "abomination," is *unclean* animals, inasmuch as the Israelites would not look to see if a black hair could be found on a red ox, before they would sacrifice it. On either view, the danger to Moses and the Israelites would be the same.

Fifth Plague—the Destruction of the Animals.

The destruction, it was declared should be on the horses, the asses, the camels, the oxen, and the sheep. It is perhaps here worthy of note that horses, and that without any accompanying remark, are assigned the first place. It furnishes an item to be added to the general and incidental evidences of probability. The destruction of the horse, from its value and extensive use in Egypt, would be likely to be deemed the crowning calamity in any injury to the domestic animals. We know not enough of the diseases of animals in Egypt, to say whether at any time they are visited by a general desolation. The French "Description" informs us, that a murrain sometimes is very general and fatal among the *horned cattle;* compelling the inhabitants to supply their losses from Syria, and the islands of the Archipelago.

We must not omit here to notice the positive testimony of our author, to the existence of the camel in Egypt. We have touched on this point in our remarks upon the gifts made by Pharaoh to Abraham. It was supposed by the French literati, that the figure of the camel was nowhere to be found on the monuments. Even had this been true, it would not have established the falsehood of our history; for we have no right to assume, that the sculptures and paintings embrace or were meant to embrace, the whole circle of Egyptian zoology. But, as we have already mentioned, it is not true. The head

and long necks of these animals are repeated several times, two by two, upon the obelisks at Luxor, when they were discovered by Minutoli. Regnier suggests, that even if they were wanting, it might reasonably be explained on the ground that, however useful the animal, it was associated so closely with the idea of the detested nomade shepherds, that it would not be permitted to appear in Egypt's sacred places. The animal certainly was in common use among the nomade tribes on the borders of Egypt, and was indispensable in the neighboring deserts, from the earliest period of which we have any evidence; and as a communication for trade, or other purposes, was kept up between Egypt and her wandering neighbors, from our earliest knowledge of her history; it is scarce possible that the camel should not, in a greater or less degree, have been found in the valley of the Nile.

The sixth Plague—the Boils.

This visited both man and beast "throughout all the land of Egypt." It touched even the scrupulously clean magicians or priests, and they seem to have retired from further rivalry. Differences of opinion exist among the learned as to what is meant by boils. It is of the less importance that we should state them, because there is nothing connected with the history of this visitation, that falls within our purpose of illustrating Scripture truth by Egyptian testimony.

The seventh Plague—the Thunder, and Hail, and Fire.

By fire is here meant lightning; and such a tempest as is here described would have been terrific any where, even in the tropics; but in Egypt, such a visitation, as her meteorology shows, would have been more alarming than in any other

country; more particularly, when the adjacent province of Goshen was seen to be untouched. It is not wonderful, therefore, that this calamity made the deepest impression upon the stubborn nature of Pharaoh.

In the account of this plague, there are some noteworthy references to facts such as are found in Egypt. Thus, Moses warns Pharaoh: "Send therefore, now, and gather thy cattle and all that thou hast in the field; for upon every man and beast which shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought home, the hail shall come down upon them, and they shall die." The cattle, then, were *in the field* at that time, not in the stall. With this other accounts agree. According to the "Description," the cattle get green food (in the fields) four months in the year; the rest of the time they are stall-fed. Niebuhr tells us what months these four are: "In the months January, February, March, and April, the cattle graze, whereas during the remaining months they must be supplied with dry fodder." The transaction we are considering occurred in March.

We have (in fixing the time for the plagues) already adverted to another fact recorded in the history of this visitation. "The flax and the barley was smitten; for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled. But the wheat and the rye were not smitten, for they were not grown up." This exactly agrees with the state of the crops in Egypt at this day, at the time of the year here indicated. Dr. Richardson, in his "Travels," speaking of March, (the early part of it,) says: "The barley and flax are now far advanced; the former is in the ear and the latter is bolled, and it seems to be about this season of the year that God brought the plague of thunder and hail upon the Egyptians, to punish the guilty Pha-

raoh, who had hardened his presumptuous heart against the miracles of Omnipotence." We learn, too, from Sonnini, that barley comes to maturity in Egypt about a month before wheat. Wheat and rye mature there about the same time. Flax and barley are generally ripe in March, wheat and rye in April. It was the same in former times: Theophrastus and Pliny both tell us that there was a month's difference in the harvesting of barley and wheat.

The eighth Plague—the Locusts.

The succession of calamities with which Egypt had been visited seem at length to have roused the people to expostulation. "Knowest thou not yet that Egypt is ruined?" was the emphatic question with which they accompanied their advice that Israel might be permitted to depart. It is not to be doubted, that the great contest so obviously going on between the power of Jehovah, and the proud obstinacy of Pharaoh, had by this time effectually roused the close attention of all, both of Egypt and Israel. All stood waiting with interest the result. The labors of the oppressed descendants of Abraham had probably ceased; and congregated in Goshen, (for there only could they be exempt from God's fearful manifestations of his might,) they began to believe that God was working deliverance for them by the agency of his prophet; and looking at the gathering dismay of the Egyptians, they gladly hoped that the time of their deliverance had indeed come.

Pharaoh, moved doubtless by the unequivocal manifestations of feeling on the part of his own people, summons Moses and Aaron to his presence, to yield a reluctant assent to the exode of the *men* only of Israel. The spirited answer of

Moses, that none should be left behind, rouses the royal indignation, and he commands the leaders of Israel to be thrust from his presence.

Then came the locusts. This insect is common in Arabia, but comparatively rare in Egypt; as the Red Sea forms a species of barrier against them, they not being able to sustain a long flight across large bodies of water. The time of their appearance, too, was much earlier than is usual in Egypt; and so far as the agency of natural causes was concerned, "a strong east wind" assists their transit across the sea. This alone was remarkable, as the prevalent winds which blow in Egypt are six months from the north, and six months from the south.

We have not been without opportunities, even in some parts of our own country, of seeing the large number of these insects, and of observing the extent of their ravages in the removal of verdure from the trees; but in Egypt their path was literally marked by ruin. "The locusts went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all the coasts of Egypt. Very grievous were they: before them were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall there be such. *For they covered the face of the whole earth*, so that the land was darkened; and they *ate up every green herb upon the earth*, and every tree, the fruit of which the hail had left; *not any green thing remained on the trees, or on the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt.*"

That, at the proper season, the swarms of locusts in Egypt may be very destructive, though not to the extent here described, is proved by Denon. After describing what is called a *chamsin* in Egypt, a wind attended with a species of unnatural darkness from dust and other causes, he thus proceeds:

"Two days after this calamity, we were informed that the plain was covered with birds, which flew in dense flocks from east to west. We, in fact, saw from a distance that the fields seemed to move, or at least that a long current flowed through the plain. Supposing that they were strange birds which had flown hither, in such great numbers, we hastened our pace in order to observe them. But, instead of birds, we found a cloud of locusts which made the land bald; for they stopped on each stalk of grass to devour it, and then flew further for spoil. At a time of the year when the corn is tender, they would have been a real plague; as lean, as efficient, and as lively as the Arab Bedouin, they are also a production of the desert. After the wind had changed its course, so as to blow directly against them, it swept them back into the desert."

It is impossible to read this account, and not be struck with its singular agreement with ours in certain particulars. In both stories, the locusts come from the east to the west; in both their coming is connected with a peculiar wind, and in both, they are driven away by a counter wind. As to this last point, our Bible tells us, the Lord sent "a mighty strong *west* wind," by which they were driven back. In the original, it is "a *sea-wind*," meaning a wind blowing from the Mediterranean, which in Syria would of course be westerly, hence it is translated west wind: in Egypt, such a wind would be northwesterly, and yet be properly expressed by the original term, a sea-wind. Von Bohlen objects to the author of the Pentateuch, as a fault of ignorance, and therefore an argument against his credibility, that he makes the locusts come *from the east*, with the wind. The reader has before him, the means of judging what force there is in the objection. It

may well be doubted whether, in Egypt, they are ever seen coming in swarms from any other quarter. Should it be supposed that the locusts of Egypt, mentioned in our narrative, were but a natural phenomenon; we readily admit that an appearance of locusts may be natural, and yet, as we have endeavored to explain in our opening remarks on the plagues, it may be connected with such attendant circumstances, *not natural and ordinary*, as clearly prove miraculous power.

The ninth Plague—Darkness.

In Egypt, a cloud seldom obscures the sun; the sky is beautifully clear and transparent. A darkness of three days, therefore, which was so thick that, in the emphatic and poetical language of Scripture, it "*might be felt*," must have been to the Egyptians an appalling event. "No one rose from his place for three days." Even Pharaoh was moved, and offered to let the people go; but wished to retain their flocks and herds as security for their return. Then it was that Moses gave his determined answer: "*There shall not a hoof be left behind.*"

How far this darkness may have been connected with natural causes, it is impossible to say. There is no intimation given in the narrative which authorizes the affirmation of any specific natural agency. Some have supposed that a dense fog was spread over the land. Admit it, a fog of three days would be a miracle in Egypt; for nature never spontaneously produces one there of even one day's continuance.

Others have attributed the darkness to the *chamsin*, of which we just now spoke. We are not aware that there is any record of the chamsin's continuing to produce the thickest darkness for three days; and the very interesting accounts of

it, which we are about to present to the reader, scarcely seem, in our view, to be descriptive of such a state of the atmosphere as is implied in the Bible account of the Egyptian plague of darkness. There is an obscurity in which our history leaves this miracle, that is characteristic of the miracle. It seems to us to be purposely (we know not why, and presume not to conjecture) more involved in obscurity than any of the other plagues. Our belief, however, is not at all affected by the determination of the question, whether it is or is not, associated with natural causes; for we must beg leave to repeat, that even natural causes, *acting for a time non-naturally*, in extent or otherwise, show the hand of God, and prove a miracle.

Du Bois Aymé (one of the French school) compares the Mosaic darkness to the chamsin. He says, "When the chamsin blows, the sun is pale yellow; its light is obscured, and the darkness is sometimes so great, that one seems to be in the blackest night, as we experienced in the middle of the day at Cene, a city of Said." Sonnini thus writes: "The atmosphere was heated, and at the same time obscured by clouds of dust; the thermometer of Reaumur stood at 27 degrees. Men and animals breathed only vapor, and that was heated and mingled with a fine and hot sand. Plants drooped, and all living nature languished. This wind also continued to the 27th; it appeared to me, to have increased in force. The air was dark on account of a thick mist of fine dust as red as flame."

Much the most particular and interesting account, however, is Denon's. "On the 18th of May, in the evening, I felt as if I should perish from the suffocating heat. All motion of the air seemed to have ceased. As I went to the Nile to bathe for the relief of my painful sensations, I was astonished by a new

sight. Such light and such colors I had never seen. The sun, without being veiled with clouds, had been shorn of its beams. It gave only a white and shadowless light, more feeble than the moon. The water reflected not its rays, and appeared disturbed. Every thing assumed another appearance; the air was darker, a yellow horizon caused the trees to appear of a pale blue. Flocks of birds fluttered about before the clouds. The frightened animals ran about in the fields, and the inhabitants who followed them with their cries, could not collect them. The wind which had raised immense clouds of dust, and rolled them along before itself, had not yet reached us. We thought that if we went into the water, which at this moment was quiet, we should avoid this mass of dust, which was driven toward us from the southwest; but we were scarcely in the river, when it began suddenly to swell, as if it would overflow its banks. The waves broke over us, and the ground heaved under our feet. Our garments flew away when seized by the whirlwind, which had now reached us. We were compelled to go to land. Wet, and beaten by the wind, we were soon surrounded by a ridge of sand. A reddish, dusky appearance filled the region; with wounded eyes, and nose so filled that we could hardly breathe, we strayed from one another, lost our way, and found our dwellings with great difficulty, feeling along by the walls. Then, we sensibly felt how terrible the condition must be, when one is overtaken by such a wind in the desert."

The tenth Plague—Death of the First-born.

Some have supposed that this was a pestilence similar to the plague of Egypt at this day. There is not the smallest evidence to sustain such an opinion, and the plague never

made its appearance in Egypt, so far as we have been able to discover its history, until long after the days of Moses. Hengstenberg ascribes the disease, here spoken of, to the prevalence, just before, of the chamsin, mentioned under the last head; and so far as natural causes may have been employed to an unusually fearful extent, there may be plausibility in his conjecture. It may be true, as he states, that epidemic disease at this day generally succeeds the prevalence of a chamsin; but we look on this occurrence as resulting from causes, far without the circle of ordinary natural causes. It affords, however. but little in illustration of our subject.

This plague produced the effect which God had said it should. A voice of lamentation was heard through the length and breadth of the land, save in Goshen. The destroying angel had performed his work; and with a haste engendered by fear, Pharaoh bade Israel go. It was night, but they waited for no dawn of day or second bidding. All was ready, they commenced their exode, and turning their backs on Egypt, they left it as a people for ever. God had broken their chains and they were free.

But they went not out alone; "a mixed multitude," as the Bible expresses it, went out with them, A part of this mixed multitude we have seen delineated on the picture of the brick-makers. They were Egyptians reduced to wretchedness by oppression and poverty; a species of Fellah of ancient Egypt. Some also, of the multitude were probably foreign slaves, belonging to the chief persons among the Hebrews. Some, probably, were slaves belonging to the Egyptians, who availed themselves of the opportunity to escape from their masters. It is not recorded any where that the Israelites were at all benefited by their company; it may, therefore, be safely inferred

that they were the outcasts of society, for the most part thieves, vagabonds, adventurers and bankrupts, who could no longer stay with safety in Egypt.

A few days were sufficient to revive all the animosity of Egypt toward the Hebrews; and Pharaoh resolving on pursuit, "made ready his chariot, and took his people with him: and he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them:—and he pursued after the children of Israel." This statement is in correspondence with the sculptures, which show numerous instances of the Egyptian war chariots, and attest the great use made of them. By "his people," is meant his army, i. e. infantry, as distinguished from his "chariots and horsemen."

We have, on a former page, called attention to the fact that Manetho (the favorite authority of a certain class of writers on Egypt) has distinctly admitted that there was such a person as Moses, though he calls him a leper; and we have endeavored to show that, for our purpose, it matters little whether this admission come from the real or spurious Manetho: we are happy in being able to add, that the admirers of this Egyptian writer cannot, without a contradiction of their favorite witness, deny the facts of the exode of the Israelites and the pursuit of them by Pharaoh, as here recorded. Eusebius gives us the following passage from the lost history of Manetho: "The Heliopolitans relate that the king, with a great army, accompanied by the sacred animals, pursued after the Jews, who had carried off with them the substance of the Egyptians." So that here the ancient records of Egypt itself (from which it is claimed Manetho drew his information) are bearing testimony to the truth of what is written in the ancient records of the Hebrews.

But some, by way of objection, have asked how could Pharaoh so speedily assemble a great army for pursuit? The objection is singularly unfortunate for those who would deny the truth of the Bible story. The very rapidity with which he assembled these troops is remarkably in agreement with facts which we will now relate. The greater part of the standing army of Egypt was habitually concentrated in this very region from which the Israelites took their departure, because it was the most exposed frontier of the land. They constituted the garrison of certain walled or fortified towns in that region. Herodotus has expressly named the nomes or provinces in which the military force was quartered. No less than sixteen and a half nomes were within the Delta. "In the Mosaic times," (says Heeren,) "the warrior caste first appears in Lower Egypt. The rapidity with which the Pharaoh there mentioned could assemble the army with which he pursued the fugitive Israelites, evinces clearly enough that the Egyptian warriors of that epoch must have been quartered in just the same district in which Herodotus places them."

It comports not with the leading purpose of our work to enter into the much controverted point of the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites. Those who have discussed it may be divided into the two classes of those who have been willing to find the place of transit any where, provided the locality, by means of shoals or other causes, would deprive the occurrence of its miraculous character; and those who, believing it to be a miracle, endeavor, from the Bible and other sources, to fix its locality, without troubling themselves to inquire into the existence of shoals or winds that may account for the extraordinary passage. We trust, however, we may be pardoned for availing ourselves of this opportunity of bringing

before the reader a very sensible and spirited letter from one, who has at last received tardy justice at the hands of the public, for a long-continued and undeserved distrust of his truth. We allude to Bruce.

Michaelis (who raised much of the discussion on this subject) sent to Niebuhr, who was then in Egypt, certain queries; one of which proposed to him, to inquire "whether there were not some ridges of rock, where the water was shallow, so that an army at particular times might pass over? And secondly, whether the Etesian winds, which blow strongly all the summer from the northwest, could not blow so violently against the sea as to keep it back in a heap, so that the Israelites might have passed *without a miracle?*" Niebuhr answered, distinctly, that there was *no such shoal;* though he manifested in the rest of his reply a strong disposition to get rid of the miracle. A copy of the questions was left for Bruce. His answer does him honor.

"I must confess, however learned the gentlemen were who proposed these doubts, I did not think they merited any attention to solve them. This passage is told us by Scripture to be a *miraculous one;* and if so, we have nothing to do with *natural* causes. If we do not believe *Moses*, we need not believe the transaction at all, seeing that it is from his authority alone we derive it. If we believe in God that he *made* the sea, we must believe he could *divide* it when he sees proper reason; and of that he must be the only judge. It is no greater miracle to divide the *Red Sea*, than to divide the river *Jordan.*

"If the Etesian winds, blowing from the northwest in summer, could keep up the sea as a wall on the right, or to the south, of fifty feet high; still the difficulty would remain of

building the wall on the left hand, or to the north. Besides, water standing in that position for a day, must have lost the nature of fluid. Whence came that cohesion of particles which hindered that wall to escape at the sides? This is as great a miracle as that of *Moses*. If the Etesian winds had done this once, they must have repeated it many a time before and since from the same causes. Yet *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. iii. p. 122, says: The Troglodytes, the indigenous inhabitants of that very spot, had a tradition from father to son, from their very earliest ages, *that once this division of the sea did happen there; and that after leaving its bottom some time dry, the sea again came back and covered it with great fury*. The words of this author are of the most remarkable kind. We cannot think this heathen is writing in favor of revelation: he knew not *Moses*, nor says a word about *Pharaoh* and his host; but records the miracle of the division of the sea in words nearly as strong as those of *Moses*, from the mouths of unbiassed, undesigning pagans.

"Were all these difficulties surmounted, what could we do with the *pillar of fire?* The answer is, we should not believe it. Why then believe the passage at all? We have no authority for the one but what is for the other. It is altogether contrary to the ordinary nature of things, and if not a *miracle*, it must be a *fable*."

To this testimony of the Troglodyte tradition, we will only add, that evidence of the *pillar of fire* also is to be gathered from other testimony than that of the Bible; for the Egyptian chronologer writes, "It is said that fire flashed against them [the Egyptians] in front."

Miriam and her companions celebrated the triumph with music and dancing.

This is perfectly conformable to what they had learned of the manners and customs of the Egyptians. The sculptures show us triumphal dances of Egyptian females, with timbrels or tambourines in their hands. The instrument was usually played by women, who danced at the same time to its sound, without any other accompaniment. We meet with it frequently in the future history of the Hebrews, and it is observable, that every description of its use in the Bible finds an exact illustration in the Egyptian paintings and sculpture.

CHAPTER X.

THE WANDERINGS.

The first particular inviting our notice in the Bible history of the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness, is that of food. Before, however, we proceed to a consideration of any of the topics suggested by this part of our subject, it may be well to submit the general remark that, taking into view the precise condition of the Hebrews at this time, as a people born in Egypt, familiar only with Egyptian usages and opinions, accustomed to Egyptian conveniences, and differing probably from the natives of Egypt in the single particular of knowing, if not truly worshipping Jehovah, who had just manifested his power in their behalf; we are not to be surprised at discovering, as a natural consequence of these things, not merely that their thoughts often reverted with fond regret to the comforts of their native land; but that as time rolled on, and the purposes of God were gradually developed, and they fully knew that they should see Egypt no more, they should, in all the arrangements of their new position, with reference to laws, devotional habits, domestic usages, &c., assimilate their institutions to those they had left behind them, as far as was consistent with the great governing distinction of recognizing and worshipping the only true God.

We must expect, therefore, in this part of our subject, to see much which Egypt illustrates. In fact, it were easy to write on this topic, not merely a chapter, but a book. We will endeavor to select that only most likely to interest the reader, and at the same time afford the testimony we are seeking from Egypt.

Food.—Their first cry was for *bread.* We know that when the Israelites went out they "took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading-troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders." We are also informed that after entering on their journey, "they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt." When the small quantity of food, which, as we learn from the Bible, they had, was exhausted, they were pressed by hunger, and cried for bread, as they had before done at Marah for water.

The Egyptians perfectly understood the art of baking, and we have already had occasion to remark that the monuments abundantly prove it. The Israelites, of course, had learned it, and had carried with them some, if not all, of the necessary implements for the work. We must not, however, be misled by names. The kneading-troughs here mentioned were not the utensils known to us by that name. They were small wooden bowls, such as the Arabs now use for kneading their bread, and were therefore no heavy burden.

Manna and quails were the food with which they were supplied. Of the first named, much has been written; and those reluctant to find a miracle in any thing have labored to prove that it is a gum that exudes, at this day, from the punctures made by insects in the twigs of the tamarisk plant. This gum, however, which is but in small quantities, by no means answers the description given of the manna; and even

if it did, it would not relieve the advocate of exclusive natural causes from his difficulty. For there would still be a great deal that is miraculous left: thus, the gum is yielded but six weeks in the year, but the manna was afforded constantly for forty years: a double supply came every Friday regularly, to compensate for its absence on the next day, the Sabbath. That collected on Friday would remain uncorrupted two days, while that gathered on any other day in the week, if kept to the next day, invariably became offensive, and unfit for use. To this there was made but one exception, and that a remarkable one, in the quantity that was preserved and laid up as a memorial, after the necessity for its use as food had ceased. Again, the gum is found under and about the tree from which it falls, the manna was showered down through the whole encampment of the Hebrews. If, therefore, the product of the tamarisk and the manna of the Israelites were the same article, we are obliged to admit a number of miraculous circumstances quite as strange as any recorded in the story of the Pentateuch. We must acknowledge a miracle, even if natural causes be invoked, or reject the account altogether. There is no other alternative. This manna, unlike the gum of the tamarisk, could be *pounded to powder*, and baked as bread. That the Israelites knew how to bake will not be doubted.

Indeed, that it was no natural production, and that the Israelites actually knew nothing about it, when they first saw it, is proved by their inquiring what it was, and by the very name bestowed on it. Josephus tells us that *man* is a particle of interrogation, and the Septuagint so understands it. When the Israelites, therefore, said to one another, "What is it?"

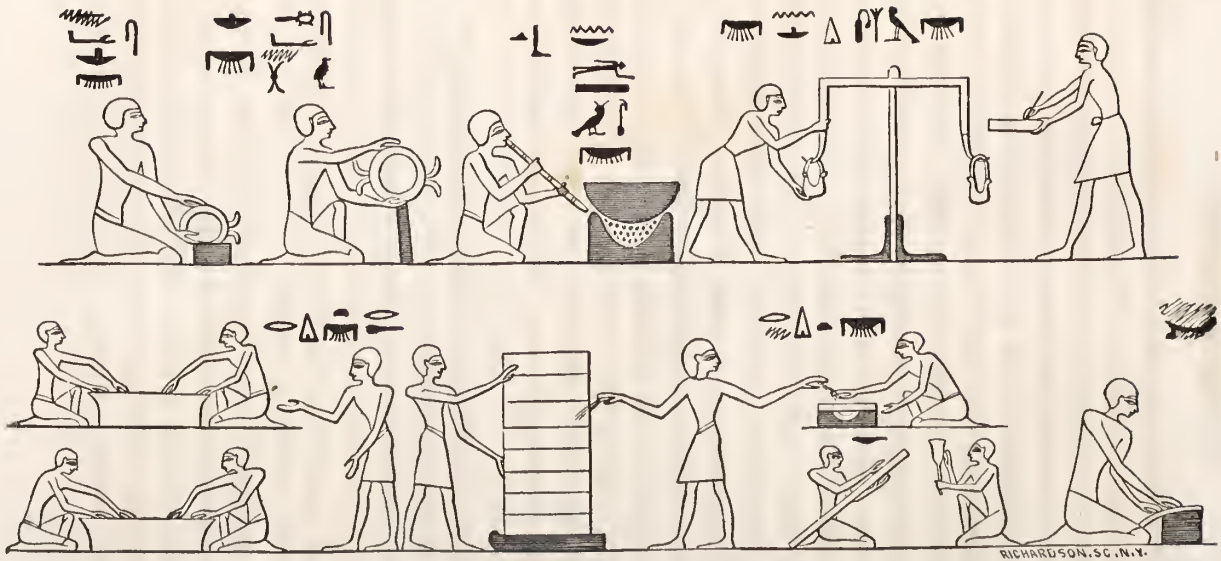
(*man-hu* ?) they unconsciously bestowed on it a name which proved their entire ignorance of its nature.

Quails ; Heb. *Selav.*—The same bird is still to be seen in the Levant. It is a bird of passage, remarkable for its migratory habits, and flies in such flocks to and from Africa, across the Mediterranean, that more than one hundred thousand have been killed at Naples at one time. The monuments show that the Egyptians were skilful fowlers, and from them the Israelites learned the art of snaring birds. Poultry and feathered game were favorite articles of food in Egypt ; and the quail, which was often preserved by salting for future use, was particularly esteemed. An extraordinary wind sending immense flocks of these birds at this time over the camp of the Israelites, furnished them with a species of flesh which they particularly esteemed. The time and the quantity made the supply out of the usual order of natural events.

The Golden Calf of the Israelites.—This finds its illustration in Egyptian usages only. The points here to be examined are :

1. Had the Israelites skill to make such an image ?
2. Why make a *calf ?*
3. Why dance and sing around it in their idolatrous worship ?
4. How could Moses make the Israelites drink the dust of it ?

As to the skill of the Israelites as workmen in metals, there can be no doubt. The Egyptians, among whom they lived, knew perfectly how to work in metals ; and some of their beautiful productions may be handled even at the present day. The monuments, were there no other evidence,



WORKING IN METALS.—FROM THE MONUMENTS.

would afford abundant proof of this. We give a cut from Wilkinson, showing that such is the case.

Here may be seen the various processes, from the weighing of the metal, through the melting, to the working of it up into articles. There were, and are no better metallurgists than the ancient Egyptians. They understood the nature of different alloys as well as we do; and much of the chemistry of the art was probably as familiar to them as it is to us.

As to the golden calf itself, it was (as a critically correct interpretation of the original shows) cast in a mould; and the precedent for this mode of manufacture was furnished by Egypt. But not only in the mode of making did the Israelites imitate the Egyptians; they did it also in the selection of the animal of which they made an idol. The Hebrews in Egypt had served the gods of that country; for in Joshua xxiv. 14, we read: "Now, therefore, fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and truth: and put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, *and in Egypt;* and serve ye the Lord." The idol to which they here turned aside was an Egyptian god; and this is an answer to the second question, "Why make a *calf?*"

This god was Apis, the sacred bull of Memphis, under whose form Osiris was worshipped. As this was one of the most conspicuous of the deities in that idolatrous system which they had been accustomed to see, it explains why the first apostacy of the Israelites took this direction. The living Apis was kept at Memphis, but all over Egypt representative images of him were made, and the Israelites but followed an example with which they had long been unhappily too familiar.

Why *dance* and *sing* around it?

Because these two exercises were also Egyptian, and were particularly exhibited at the feast of Apis, as we learn from Herodotus. In the whole transaction connected with this idolatrous display on the part of Israel, it is impossible not to perceive the tendencies and feelings of a people who had grown up under Egyptian influences; and these are incidentally brought out in the casual allusion to so many little particulars, as to convince the unprejudiced, of the familiar acquaintance of the writer with all of Egypt's idolatrous system, and to impress a conviction of the author's truth.

How could Moses make the Israelites drink the dust of it? The manner in which this was done is a further proof of the extraordinary skill in the metallurgic arts possessed by the Egyptians; and, through their instruction, by the Hebrews. Modern chemistry employs tartaric acid, and reduces gold to powder. Stahl, one of the ablest chemists, informs us that *natron*, which is very common in the East, will produce the same effect; and if the metal be previously heated, the effect is sooner produced. Hence Moses in the first instance cast the image into the fire, and then made it potable. Now one of two consequences must follow; either he performed a miracle, or he possessed very extensive scientific attainments. There is no account of any miraculous intervention of Providence in the story; it then was the result of natural means, but such as none but a very well informed chemist could have known or used. No alternative then is left us but a positive denial of the facts, or an admission of the knowledge of Moses. We read in Acts vii. 22, that he "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;" we therefore believe that he here possessed the requisite knowledge, a point of some

importance when we come to ask *who* wrote the Pentateuch; for it is plain, even from what the reader has already seen, that it must have been written by some one who knew Egypt thoroughly, from actual observation.

There is another small item of evidence here, to establish the fact of Moses' knowledge. He strewed the gold dust on water, and made the children of Israel *drink it*. He was perfectly acquainted with the scientific effect of what he had done. He meant to aggravate the punishment, and impress upon their recollections the never to be forgotten memory of their disobedience, and to this latter end, he made their own sense of taste to minister; for of all detestable drinks, none is more so than that of gold thus rendered potable.

The making of the Tabernacle.—One of the objections urged as an argument against the truth of the Pentateuch is, that the skill of the Israelites was not competent to the production of the tabernacle and the priests' garments. That these imply a cultivation of the arts and an abundance of costly materials, such as the Hebrews could not have had when they left Egypt. Among the articles used were gold, silver, and brass, costly stuffs, furs, &c.; and these, it is said, the Israelites had not.

Of the skill required, we have already furnished some little proof gathered from the monuments, and showing, as far as a picture or sculpture can, the Egyptians actually employed in the work that would be necessary to make the tabernacle. Whatever intellectual and material resources the Egyptians possessed, it is plain the Hebrews must have also had the same; inasmuch as at the exode, every descendant of Abraham, as his fathers before him for many years had been, was by birth an Egyptian, and for generations all the instruction they

could have had was purely Egyptian. But there is another valuable object to be here attained. If it be shown that Israelitish art is connected with Egyptian by many peculiarities, it will prove that the condition of things is precisely such as it would be, on the supposition that the Pentateuch is historically accurate; and that if we discard that supposition, we cannot explain or account for numerous facts that meet us, inasmuch as no fictitious narrative could, with such perfect consistency, originate and sustain the close Egyptian relationship which we encounter at every step of our progress.

Precious Stones.—These were among the articles used by the Israelites. Bezaleel, who was the chief in the construction of the tabernacle, we are expressly told, "had skill in the cutting of stones to set them." Precious stones with engravings on them were also, as we read, set upon the ephod and breastplate of the high priest. We presume our readers will not have forgotten the drawings we have already produced of signet-rings and bracelets, containing precious stones, and those sculptured. Indeed, too many specimens are yet in existence in various museums to permit a doubt on this subject; and among them, are some older than the days of Abraham. Israel learned the art of polishing and cutting them in Egypt; for the Hebrews certainly at a period posterior to this possessed it, and had then held no intercourse with any people from whom they could have derived it so early as the time of their possessing it, but the Egyptians.

Purifying and working Metals—We have already seen on the monuments, Egyptians working in metals. "From all such articles" (says Rosellini) "it is manifest how *anciently* the art of casting and working metals was practised in Egypt." He adds: "The greater part of Egyptian metallic articles are

of bronze, not a few of gold, a smaller number of silver, very few of lead, and those made of iron are seldom found."

The gold of the sanctuary was ordered to be *pure* gold. The monuments show the process of purifying gold; and many of the ornaments still existing, are of the purest gold.

The boards of the tabernacle were to be *overlaid with gold.* "We find" (says Wilkinson) "that in Egypt substances of various kinds were overlaid with gold leaf." There are existing specimens as old as the time of the first Osirtasen.

The brazen laver was made of the *brazen mirrors* offered by the women. Had they such mirrors? Wilkinson says, the mirror was one of the principal articles of the toilet "It was of mixed metal, chiefly copper, most carefully wrought and highly polished." Some have been discovered at Thebes in our own times; and though they had been buried in the earth for centuries, yet such was the skill employed in their composition, that their lustre has been partially revived by the workmen of our own day.

The golden candlestick was ornamented with *golden flowers.* Could they make them? The monuments repeatedly show them. Indeed such was Egyptian skill in this particular, that Pliny tells us there were artificial flowers which were known by the name of Egyptiæ. The tabernacle had a covering of *leather.* Could they make leather? The whole trade is depicted for us on the monuments. Indeed, it was an important branch of Egyptian industry. But, strange as it may seem, we have actual specimens of their leather. The straps of a mummy found at Thebes are of the finest leather, and have beautiful figures stamped on them. At Paris there is an Egyptian harp, the wood of which is

covered with a green morocco, cut in the form of a lotus blossom.

Cloths of the Tabernacle and Priests' Garments.—The ephod of the high-priest was interwoven with *threads of gold.* Could they make gold thread? We find it as far back as Osirtasen the First.

Many passages in the Scripture speak of the twisted thread of the *byssus*, by which we may understand either flax or cotton; it matters not here which. Did they know how to spin it? The tombs of Beni Hassan show the whole process of its preparation from the beginning to its finishing as thread fit for weaving. Could they *weave* it? The cloths on the oldest mummies answer the question. In all antiquity their cloths were renowned. The ancients attribute to them the invention of the art. We have handled cloth, yet strong, that was woven in Egypt, as we believe, nearly 3500 years ago.

Weaving was performed by *men* generally, while spinning was performed by the women. Herodotus mentions it as one of the national peculiarities which struck him, that the women were engaged in the outdoor work, while the men were within, weaving. On the monuments we frequently see men thus employed: it is true we sometimes see also women, yet they rather form exceptions to the common practice. In conformity with this, the preparation of the cloth for the sanctuary, and of the robes for the priesthood, is represented in our history as being confided to men.

Again: the cloths used by the Israelites required skill, both in dyeing and embroidering. Had they such skill? Minutoli tells us, that "from many experiments upon the ancient Egyptian cloth, it appears that the byssus was colored

in the wool before weaving." Wilkinson states the same thing. Such too was the plan pursued by the Hebrews, as we learn from our history. As to embroidering, the evidence of its skilful execution by the Egyptians is unquestionable. The paintings at Thebes, according to Wilkinson, furnish the proof. A very common embroidered device was the phœnix, another was the lotus flower. Some are of the date of Rameses III.

Again: the *shape* of some of the garments of the high-priest affords us incidental proof. They were copied from garments in use in Egypt. The dresses, as well as the ceremonies of the Egyptian priesthood, are profusely delineated in the sculptured and pictured monuments; and it is impossible attentively to study those of the Hebrews, and not find the origin of some of them on the banks of the Nile. True, their use was associated with a worship very far removed from the gross idolatry of Egypt, but their mere fashion was often the same, and was probably selected because it was familiar to the eyes of the Hebrews while dwellers in the land of bondage. In fact, the whole Hebrew ritual appears to have been framed on the principle of embodying Egyptian ceremonies, carefully guarded, modified and expurgated, and applying them to the worship of the true God. We are aware that, in the opinion of some excellent men, this seems to detract from the Jewish ritual, as being but a modification of idolatry. We are unable to see this. It was a modification of idolatrous *ceremonies*, but it involved no recognition of idolatrous *worship*. It acknowledged no false god; on the contrary, it was so changed as to make the ceremonies retained, appropriate only in the worship of the true God. As well might it be said that retaining, as we do at this day, the heathen names

of the days of the week, proves that he who says "Thursday" is an idolatrous worshipper of the northern Thor. Beside, some of the very ceremonies of worship used now in the Christian Church are undoubted modifications of usages that were once known in heathen worship. Does that make idolaters of the Christians who in their use apply them to the expression of honor and reverence for the one only and true God? Again: are there no modifications now in the Christian Church of Jewish usages? Does that prove Christians to be Jews? The fact, is that as ceremonies in the expression of religious feeling are necessarily arbitrary, the ceremony means nothing but what in the view of the worshipper it was meant to symbolize; and it is really of no importance whence the ceremony was originally derived. The only point worth a thought is, what does it here mean?

The resemblances between the ritual of the Hebrews and the ceremonies of the Egyptians, are much too numerous to be deemed accidental. This meets us as a *fact*. We cannot evade or deny it. We wish not to do so; for in these very resemblances we find important testimony to the truth; nor can we possibly perceive how their existence in the slightest degree affects the question of the reverence due to the ritual of Israel, as being appointed of God for the outward expression of devotional feeling, properly directed to Jehovah. Our limits permit us to do no more than to point out generally some of these resemblances.

The Hebrew priests ministered at the altar and in the holy place, with covered heads and naked feet. So did the priests of Egypt.

They were required to be scrupulously clean, bathing daily before they commenced their ministrations. Such was the rule also in Egypt.

They, in ordinary life, dressed like the rest of their countrymen of good condition: when they ministered, they wore a peculiar and appropriate dress. This was also the case in Egypt. And here it should be remarked that the attentive student will find, that while the *custom* of Egypt was followed, it actually was made subservient to an exclusion and condemnation of the *idolatry* of Egypt; for in the priestly robes of the Jews, every thing was purposely excluded that was *idolatrously* symbolical; and in compelling him to wear that dress, and that only, he and all the congregation were alike reminded of the difference between it and the Egyptian corresponding garment, in the absence of every idolatrous symbol. Until God gave the Hebrews a ritual and established their worship, they knew no other forms than those of Egypt. These were imposing and splendid, calculated to operate powerfully on the imaginations of the Hebrews. Left to themselves, in the establishment of their ritual, they would undoubtedly have followed the Egyptian model to which they long showed a tendency, hard to be overcome. This tendency was met and limited and guided, by the adaptation of their ritual, as far as was useful or practicable, or consistent with God's purposes, to the notions which they had imbibed. It was the act of a kind parent, dealing with the weakness of his children. All of the world, with which they were acquainted, presented pompous ceremonials in religion. Had they been confined to an austere, simple system of worship, under such circumstances, it is plain that they would much more easily have been drawn into the very idolatry from which God would kindly guard them, by overruling the operation of perfectly natural causes. The ceremonies were a *necessity*, adapted to their weakness. And, to a limited

extent, ceremonies are a necessity now; for man cannot worship God decently and reverently without some outward ceremony. It may, and should be, made expressive and significant; but to carry it to the excess of gorgeous display or multiplied forms, would seem to be going back to a period when men in their weakness required such things. Under the light of the Gospel, it is not difficult in this matter to attain to a medium that is reasonable, appropriate and significant. But to proceed with our resemblances.

All the priestly garments were to be of *linen*. This was exactly the Egyptian practice.

The priests wore the *ephod*. From the best accounts we can get of this dress, it was similar in shape to one worn by Egyptian priests of the highest rank when they discharged their most solemn functions.

There was a rich embroidered girdle worn by the priests, with the ephod. The same was the case in Egypt.

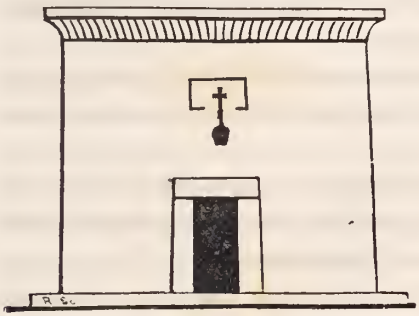
The breastplate was another part of the priest's official dress. It bore twelve jewels, on each of which was engraved the name of one of the tribes. This, while it adopted an Egyptian custom, corrected Egyptian idolatry; for on the breastplate of the Egyptian priests, was worn an idolatrous symbol; most commonly the winged scarabæus, the emblem of the sun.

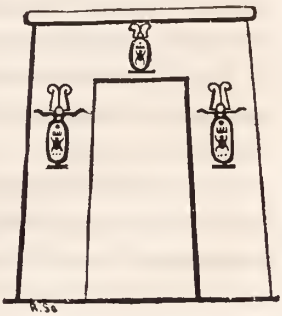
The *Urim* and the *Thummim*. In the Septuagint δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια. Here is evidence of Egyptian connection. The words mean *light* and *truth*, or *justice;* and they were used to indicate the breastplate which Aaron wore at certain times, on occasions connected with giving judgments. Wilkinson thus writes: "When a case was brought for trial, it was customary for the arch judge to put a golden chain

around his neck, to which was suspended a small figure of Truth, ornamented with precious stones. This was in fact a representation of the goddess who was worshipped under the double character of truth and justice, and whose name Thmei (the Egyptian or Coptic name of justice or truth; hence the θέμις of the Greeks) appears to have been the origin of the Hebrew *Thummim*, a word implying truth."

Ælian informs us, that the high priest among the Egyptians wore around his neck an image of sapphire, which was called *Truth*. Diodorus says the same thing. Wilkinson gives an engraving of the goddess, with closed eyes, as symbolical of impartiality.

We proceed still further briefly to trace resemblances in some of the usages of the Hebrews and those of Egypt. To indicate a few of these only is all that our space permits, and all that is required for our purpose of establishing that intimate relationship which must have existed between the Hebrews and the Egyptians, to afford any satisfactory explanation of the correspondence between them, certainly remarkable, in modes of feeling and habits of life. The history of this intimate relationship is written *nowhere* but in the Bible. All, therefore,





tending to establish it as a *fact*, tends to establish the truth of the Bible, at least in that particular. We remark, then, that the Egyptians were accustomed to put inscriptions on their houses, both inside and out.

From this circumstance the Jews were prepared for the command which bade them write the words of their law upon their door-posts and their gates.

When they made the ark, the size of it was particularly given. It is precisely the size of an ark carried after the statue of the god Chem, in a painting of the time of Rameses III.

The mode in which the Egyptians carried an ark or shrine in their processions is delineated often on the monuments. It is precisely the mode adopted by the Hebrews.

But, further, the very customs which were *forbidden* to the Hebrews seem to confirm their intimate relation with Egypt, for they are all ancient customs on the Nile. God's purpose, we are told, was to preserve, by means of the Jews, the great truth, that there was one God the creator of the world. Moses, therefore, did not hesitate to proclaim that the gods of Egypt were false, and to forbid all worship of them. Thus the Egyptians worshipped the sun, moon and stars: among the Jews, whoever worshipped any one of the heavenly host was to be stoned to death.

The Egyptians worshipped statues of men, beasts, birds, and fishes: the Jews were forbidden to bow before any carved image.

The people of Lower Egypt marked their bodies with wounds in honor of their gods: the Jews were forbidden thus to cut their flesh or make any mark upon it.

The Egyptians buried food in the tombs with their friends: the Jews were forbidden to set apart any fruit for the dead.

The Egyptians planted groves of trees within the court-yards of their temples: Moses forbade the Jews to plant any trees near the altar of the Lord.

Who can doubt that the very nature of these prohibitions indicates that they were specifically directed against Egyptian usages? If they were, the prohibition furnishes evidence of the intimate relation recorded in the Bible between the Hebrews and Israel.

We have now finished what we have here to say of Egypt's evidences to the Pentateuch. We have, we are well aware, done but little more than furnish a few items, and those of a general nature, of the mass of testimony which might easily be adduced. We are not without the hope, however, that enough has been presented to show that the boast is premature which proclaims that Egyptian discoveries have proved the Bible to be false. The geology and chronology which are established (as it is said) by the soil and monuments of Egypt, are the strong grounds on which those rely who would condemn the Scriptures: but, to our minds, we are free to confess, were both these grounds much stronger than they are, the conclusion would be most unphilosophic that the sacred history is untrue. For what are the facts? We have shown a great many particulars in which undeniably, the testimony afforded by Egypt to our narrative, is too marked to be accidental. Hundreds of circumstances, some of them singly of small importance, and all casually introduced, without being intended as evidence when they were penned, are found on being brought together, to harmonize in a wonderful manner with the story which (as far as that story has been interpreted or understood) Egypt is

telling of herself. Under such circumstances, what says the enlightened and truly philosophic mind? Certainly this: that even granting, in the present imperfect condition of science, there may be much in the geology of Egypt which indicates an extreme age, and presents a seeming difficulty in reconciling that age with received opinions as to the *date* of events; granting that the chronology, supposed to be gathered from cartouches interpreted by the guidance of a supposed Egyptian historian, whose very existence even is to some of the learned doubtful; granting that such chronology may not appear to synchronize with any received system of Scripture chronology; yet there is so much plain and palpable in Egypt that, in the shape of undoubted facts, does rise up to support the Bible story; so much of the Book is thus *proved to be true;* that real science will pause ere it too hastily concludes to reject, as entirely false, a witness clearly sustained in part, and that an important part; and will modestly conclude, that when more is fully known that science may *possibly* hereafter reveal, it will be found, that as the Bible and science are alike from God, they will prove, *when investigation is finished*, to be in entire harmony.

The Bible, so far as the testimony of Egypt is concerned, has established a claim that is undoubtedly to be, *in part* at least, believed. Let her then have credit for that part, and let it create the reasonable presumption that *all* she says, if properly understood, will be found true; let her have the benefit of this at least, until the science of man, now confessedly imperfect, shall have produced from Egypt what the Bible has, viz., equally *undoubted evidence:* it certainly *has not yet done it*, in contradiction of the Bible.

And now, in concluding this part of our subject, we think

we may say thus much at least has been proved,—the Pentateuch, or that part of it relating to the Israelites in Egypt, must have been written by some one made most accurately familiar, by personal observation and knowledge, with the topography, the natural phenomena, the trades, the domestic usages, the habits of the court, the religion, and the laws of Egypt. We think that the knowledge of the writer on these points could not have been collected at second-hand: it is much too minute and accurate to justify such an opinion. He must have lived in Egypt, and lived there long enough to have been on some subjects, not generally studied there, thoroughly instructed. No advantages necessary for a complete understanding of the mythology, worship, and laws of Egypt, could have been wanting. He must have been one "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

Who was he? It is obvious that we of the present day can give no answer to that question from any modern evidence. All we can do is to look back for evidence contemporaneous with the writer, if we can find such; to seek out, at all events, the earliest received opinions as to the authorship of the Pentateuch, to ascertain, if possible, the recorded existence in history of some man whose learning "in the wisdom of the Egyptians" was such as would have enabled him to write what we have been considering.

And, first, what say the books themselves? They bear direct testimony that Moses was their author.

Next: what says the universal and most ancient tradition? With one voice the testimony, both Jewish and Christian, has with unanimous consent declared the Pentateuch to be the work of Moses.

Third: when was the *first* doubt expressed as to their

authenticity, and the authorship of Moses? Not until the beginning of *the eleventh century of the Christian era:* when certainly no *new* testimony could be found, and when no pretence was made that any existed. The Gnostics, and other heretics, did indeed make some feeble question of their genuineness: but it was merely to get rid of the *divine* authority of the laws they contained. Their doubts died with their heresy.

Fourth: from the death of Moses to the termination of the Old Testament history, a whole nation deeply interested in the Pentateuch, considering themselves under a sacred obligation to respect and obey it, living through many centuries; produced, from time to time, many other historical books, in which they constantly referred to these books as the production of Moses; quoted them as such, and every allusion has its corresponding passage in the books, even as we at this day have them: and not a solitary discrepancy occurs in this long series of incidental and unbroken testimony, commencing, as it does, with Joshua, immediately after the death of Moses, and extending through a period of more than a thousand years.

The prophetical books of this same nation will show the same undeviating testimony both as to the existence and identity of the five books of Moses.

Finally: the absolute impossibility of imposition or mistake in this matter of authenticity and authorship will be obvious, when we come to consider that the whole fabric of the institutions, civil and religious, of a whole nation, and that no unimportant one, rests, and has always rested, solely on these books, ever since the death of their author.

Was Moses capable of writing them? Now it is a re-

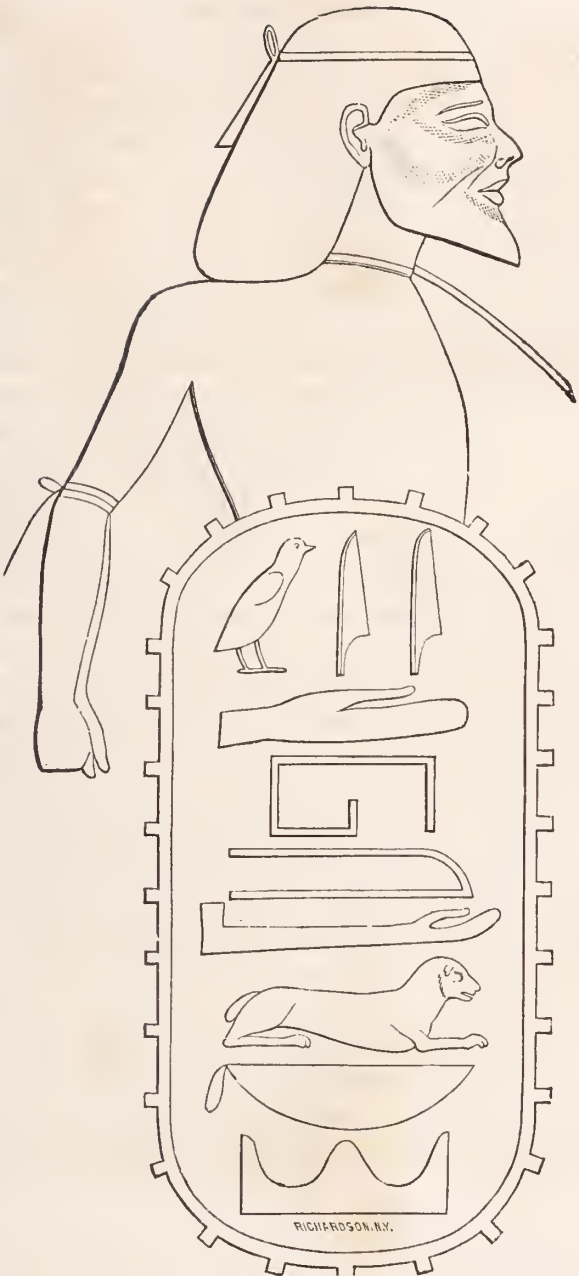
markable fact, that none of those who would fain overturn them if they could, and who have ventured, with a malice tempered more or less by a prudent regard for reputation, to hint their doubts, have ever ventured to bring forward *by name* any other author, with their *proof* in support of his claims. They never could find any other of whom authentic history recorded the indispensable fact, that he was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." We therefore conclude that Moses wrote them, and that the intimate knowledge of Egypt which they evince, is another to be added to the list of our incidental proofs.

CHAPTER XI.

DIRECT MONUMENTAL CONFIRMATION OF SCRIPTURAL HISTORY.

Our task would be left incomplete, should we fail to bring before the reader evidence to be found on the monuments confirmatory of historical facts, not written in the Pentateuch, but in other parts of the Old Testament.

We must now come up to a period long posterior to the exode of the Israelites, even to the time when dissensions among the Hebrews had caused a division of the tribes into two parts, which were respectively governed by Jeroboam and Rehoboam. In the twelfth chapter of the second book of Chronicles, we have the history of the invasion of Shishak the king of Egypt. We find him marching against Jerusalem with chariots and horsemen, and people without number—the Lubims, the Sukiims, and the Ethiopians. The humiliation and penitence of Rehoboam under the warnings of Shemaiah the Prophet, averted from him the calamity of an entire loss of his kingdom; but while the Lord declared that he should not be utterly destroyed, he nevertheless added, that the people should be the servants of Shishak, (that is, should be made his prisoners.) Shishak came and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the king's treasures—"he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took all;" and, in short, reduced the kingdom to the condition of a conquered province.

This Shishak is the Pharaoh Sesonchis of Manetho, and was the head of the twenty-second dynasty of kings, which originated at Bubastis, a very ancient city of Lower Egypt. It so happened (and it is a striking instance of the remarkable faculty possessed by Champollion le Jeune in prompt deciphering) that before the mixed commission of French and Italians that visited Egypt in 1828, Champollion, without then having ever seen Egypt, detected the cartouche of this Pharaoh in some of the engraved representations of Europe, and read it, "Beloved of Amon, SHESHONK." It was four years afterward before Champollion saw Egypt, "during which interval" (says Mr. Gliddon) "the name of Sheshonk and his captive nations had been examined times without number by other hieroglyphists, and the names of all the prisoners had been copied by them and published, without any one of them having noticed the extraordinary biblical corroboration thence to be deduced." On his passage up the Nile, Champollion landed for an hour or two, about sunset, to snatch a hasty view of the ruins of Karnac; and on entering one of the halls, he found a picture representing a triumph, in which he instantly pointed out in the third line of a row of *sixty-three prisoners*, (each indicating a city, nation, or tribe,) presented by Sheshonk to Amun-ra, the figure on the opposite page, and translated it, *Judah melek kah*, "king of the country of Judah."

The picture had been executed by order of Shishak, or Sheshonk, so that here was found the sculptured record of the invasion and conquest recorded in the "Chronicles." On the same picture were shields, containing in hieroglyphics the

names Beth-horon, Megiddo, Mahanaim, and some others, all towns through which Shishak passed on his invasion of Judea.

Champollion supposed that the figure of the captive was Rehoboam himself. We know not that this is so; some have doubted it, nor is it of any moment historically, because the cartouche equally represents the conquest of Judea by Shishak, whether the picture be that of the king, or one of his captive princes or subjects.

In other parts of the picture, the conquest of other places is represented without the introduction of the portrait of the subjugated monarch. It is worthy of notice, while on this subject, that in the museum of Dr. Abbot in Cairo, there is a rusty helmet and chain that were found at Thebes, and on some of the links of the latter may just be distinguished the same cartouche of Shishak that is represented in the painting.

But of the numerous captives that were once represented on that picture, why is it that now, but *three* remain? for such, we believe, is the fact. Those who defaced or removed some of them are known. They are Europeans, and profess to be scholars seeking for the truth. Is the suspicion well-founded that the mutilation is the work of those who deem it more honorable to be deemed scientific neologists, than it is to sustain Scriptural truth? We would fain hope that the destruction may have been accidental. Fortunately for truth, many copies of the picture had been made before its mutilation.

It is the more to be lamented that *this* picture has been defaced, because the sculptured memorials of the *Jews* in Egypt, as we have already intimated, were not likely to be very common. The Egyptians could not but be humbled by that portion of their history which connected them with the

Hebrews; they never, as we have stated, perpetuated their own shame in sculpture. Accident preserved a part of that history in the tomb of Roscherè, as we have seen: it is, therefore, the more to be regretted that this picture has been defaced.

The remaining direct testimony is but scanty. Pharaoh Necho and Pharaoh Hophra, both mentioned in Scripture, are proved to be real personages, as their cartouches are found on the monuments. The same may be said of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, mentioned in 2 Kings, xix. 9.

Indeed, so far as mere *names* are evidence, there is no want of them, both of places and persons. Osborn, in his Onomasticon, furnishes a long list. Thus no less than eighty-four Canaanitish names, mentioned in Scripture, occur at Aboo-simbal, Thebes, &c., written in the hieroglyphics. The mere repetition of these would, of course, afford to the general reader, little of interest or satisfaction.

And now, in conclusion, we would repeat a thought that was suggested in the commencement of our work. It is this: that the truth of the Bible is not dependent, in any degree, on our being able to produce evidence for its support from the monuments of Egypt. If that country had not a monument within it, it would not affect the genuineness and authenticity of the Old Testament. That it has such monuments, and that in modern times God in his providence has permitted us to see, that in many particulars they do illustrate and confirm our sacred writings, is cause for thankfulness; but such confirmation, it must be remembered, when found is purely incidental, and cannot, therefore, be expected to present to us a continued story of events, which would constitute in fact but another complete history of what is already written in the Bible.

It has been too much the fashion of a certain class of men,

infidel in principle, but claiming (and in some instances justly) to be scientific, dexterously to insinuate, rather than positively to assert, that Egypt was making to them wondrous revelations at the expense of the truth of Scripture. The characters and claims of these men have, perhaps, with a class, given weight to their insinuations, when there was neither the ability nor the means to test their boasted science, or sift their artful insinuations. It was for this class principally that the present writer assumed the pen. Purposely avoiding all perplexing questions of mere science, it occurred to him that it might be useful to plain Christians of honest hearts and common sense, if from the labors of men as good and as learned as the self-styled scientific, there should be gathered into one body and plainly presented, evidence from Egypt, intelligible to ordinary faculties, tending to show that the Bible found there *some* support at least; and that unhesitatingly to reject it, on the ground of any supposed discoveries yet made there, indicated a disease of the *heart* quite as much as a fault of the *head.*

If in this, his unambitious effort, he shall prove so far successful, as to quiet the apprehensions or confirm the faith of any fellow-Christian. however humble, he will be more than repaid for his labor.

FINIS.

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